# Programs Branch User Report

Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada

Secretariat

Rick Linden
Department of Sociology
University of Manitoba

Candice Minch
Department of Sociology
University of Manitoba

# WOMEN IN POLICING: A REVIEW

1984-92

This working paper is made available as submitted to the Ministry. The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada. This report may not be published, cited or reproduced without permission of the Ministry.

This working paper is available in French. Ce document de travail est disponible en français.

TABLE OF CONTENTS


| | Page |
|---|---|
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | i |
| ABSTRACT | ii |
| SUMMARY | iii |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| The History of Women in Policing | 2 |
| DEPLOYMENT OF WOMEN OFFICERS | 14 |
| Washington, D.C. | 19 |
| St. Louis County | 21 |
| California Highway Patrol | 23 |
| New York City | 25 |
| Denver, Colorado | 27 |
| Newton, Massachusetts | 28 |
| Philadelphia | 30 |
| Canadian Research | 33 |
| Discussion | 35 |
| ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALE OFFICERS | 40 |
| Attitudes of Male Officers | 40 |
| Attitudes of Women Officers | 51 |
| Attitudes of Supervisors | 53 |
| Community Attitudes | 56 |

Page

DO WOMEN HAVE A DIFFERENT STYLE OF POLICING . . . . . 63

WOMEN AS A MINORITY . . . . . 69

SELECTION AND TRAINING . . . . . 83

Selection . . . . . 83

Training . . . . . 91

OTHER ISSUES . . . . . 98

The Role of Senior Administrators . . . . . 98

Reassignment of Serving Women . . . . . 99

Women as Supervisors . . . . . 101

Reactions of Spouses . . . . . 104

Attrition Rates and Sick Leave . . . . . 106

Uniforms for Female Officers . . . . . 111

Women in the RCMP . . . . . 112

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . . 117

APPENDIX I: WOMEN IN CANADIAN POLICE DEPARTMENTS . . . . . 124

APPENDIX II: IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH . . . . . 130

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writers would like to thank Michele Lioy and Peter Engstad of the Ministry of the Solicitor General and Dan Koenig of the University of Victoria for their assistance. Inspector Bill Spring of the RCMP and several members of the Edmonton and Toronto Police Departments provided information on the employment of females in their respective forces.

It should be noted that this report was initially completed in March, 1980. While some material has been added since that time, no attempt was made to exhaustively survey the literature which has been published in the last two years. Also, subsequent to the initial completion of this report, a research project has been carried out which examined the role of women in the Vancouver Police Department and the RCMP. Reports of these studies are available from the Ministry of the Solicitor General.

## ABSTRACT

This report provides a review of the research literature dealing with women in policing as well as a discussion of the utilization of female police officers in Canadian departments. The numbers of women police officers have increased dramatically over the past decade, and issues related to their deployment and utilization have become important ones for police administrators.

Evaluation research has indicated that women can perform general patrol duties effectively. Supervisors have rated the performance of female officers as being satisfactory, and citizens have responded positively to their employment. Despite this success, the attitudes of male officers toward their female colleagues are still very negative. By and large, most male officers do not feel that women should be part of the general patrol force. These attitudes may be the greatest obstacle facing the move to expand the role of women in policing.

While the areas of performance of females and attitudes toward their assignment to patrol duties are the major issues considered in the report, a number of other topics relating to the employment of female officers are also discussed. Among these are hiring and training, attrition and injury rates, problems faced by female officers, and policies which can be used to facilitate the integration of females into a department.

## SUMMARY

Policing has traditionally been a male-dominated occupation. However, this has been changing as more female officers are hired and assigned to duties formerly carried out only by males. The purpose of this state of the art review is to examine the available literature on women and policing in order to provide information which can be used by Canadian police forces in order to develop guidelines and policies regarding the employment and deployment of female officers.

Legislative change has been the major influence in expanding the role of women in police work. Women were initially hired to look after female prisoners and victims, and to deal with juveniles. In both Europe and North America, women remained in these roles until the 1970's when human rights legislation and pressure from governments led to a dramatic expansion in the recruiting of female officers. At the same time, females were assigned to general patrol duties for the first time. The number of female police officers in Canada has more than doubled since 1973. The increasing importance of human rights legislation, along with a predicted shortage of suitable recruits during the 1980's means that growing numbers of women will likely be employed by Canadian departments in the future.

While it seems apparent that present trends toward the increased hiring of women by police departments will continue, there are a number of different strategies which can be used in deploying female officers. Three such strategies are: the traditional model of co-existence, with a separate Women's Bureau; a pluralistic model in which male and female officers are treated as equals but given different types of assignments; and total integration of males and females in all aspects of police work. While there is a great deal of resistance from within police departments to the last alternative, there are a number of reasons why this is probably the only feasible way of deploying women. Thus the question of how well women can carry out general patrol duties is an important one.

A number of evaluation studies have been conducted evaluating the effectiveness of women who have been assigned to general patrol duties on the same basis as men. The report discusses studies which have been carried out in Washington, D.C.; St. Louis County; New York City; Denver; Newton, Massachusetts; Philadelphia; and with the California Highway Patrol. These studies nearly all indicate that women are able to carry out general patrol duties competently. There were some differences in the way men and women performed as patrol officers, but these did not materially affect the quality of police services received by the public.

Despite the evidence indicating that women can do an effective job as police officers, a number of studies show that they have

yet to be accepted by most male officers. These negative attitudes are particularly evident when the physical aspects of the job are considered. Men do not feel that women can cope with danger or with tasks requiring aggressiveness or strength. These attitudes have shown little change over time, though there is some indication that men who work closely with female officers have a more positive view of their capabilities.

Not surprisingly, female officers do not agree with most of the criticisms made of them by males. Females surveyed have generally expressed the view that they are just as capable of handling police work as are their male counterparts. Police supervisors have also been much more favorable toward women officers than have the rank and file. In most of the departments studied, the women have received favorable performance assessments from their supervisors. However, the introduction of women into general patrol duties has created some problems for supervisors. Several of these problems are discussed in the report.

A number of community surveys have been carried out which have looked at the degree of public acceptance for women in policing. These surveys have been carried out with the general public, with individuals who have been in contact with the police on an official basis, and with community opinion leaders. The surveys have shown that members of the public have been very positive toward female police officers. In several studies, their performance was rated more favorably than was that of the male officers.

One area which has generated a great deal of discussion and controversy is that of selection standards. In Canada and in the U.S.A. these standards have been the subject of consideration by courts and human rights commissions. The dispute has centered mainly around the height requirement. No studies have been able to document any relationship between height and the effectiveness of a police officer, so judges have typically ruled that minimum height requirements which exclude most women from consideration are illegal.

In addition to these topics the report also considers such issues as the problems women have because of their minority status in police departments, the role which senior administrators can play in helping women become integrated into their departments, the reassignment of women who have had many years of experience in police departments, the question of what will happen when women take over supervisory positions, the reaction of male officers' spouses to female police, and the issue of attrition rates and sick leave for female officers. The report concludes with a discussion of a survey carried out of all Canadian departments serving cities and districts of over 100,000 population. This survey focused on the experience which these departments have had with female police officers.

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

On June 2, 1977 Parliament passed the Canadian Human Rights Act. Since similar legislation exists in each of the provinces, human rights legislation has now been extended to cover all organizations coming under Federal and Provincial jurisdiction. The various acts prohibit employers from discriminating on the grounds of sex, unless there is a bonafide occupational requirement for such discrimination. This applies both to hiring and to the provision of opportunities for those who already are members of an organization. While human rights commissions still must decide whether a bonafide occupational requirement exists for restricting the employment of women in policing or in the assignment of women to certain kinds of police work, court decisions in the United States and Britain, and the actions of provincial human rights commissions suggest that such an exemption will not be granted. Thus it appears certain that Canadian police departments will have to increase their hiring of women and will have to assign women to the full range of police duties, including uniformed patrol.

The intent of the law is clear but, as a former Minister of National Defence has noted in a similar context, "The law advances, but custom is less accommodating" (Danson, 1979). In other words, while the law prohibits discrimination against women, there is a considerable amount of resistance to the full employment of women in

occupations such as policing. In this review, we will look at some of the objections to women in policing, at some of the problems faced by women police, at research evaluating the performance of women officers, and make recommendations for further research in this area.

## The History of Women in Policing

The importance of legislative change in expanding the role of women in police work can be illustrated by looking at both Britain and the United States. In both countries women first entered the police service in order to deal with women and children. In Britain prior to World War I, a number of suffragettes were arrested as a result of their protest activities. The National Council of Women strongly protested the conditions under which these women were kept in custody, and demanded that women police be appointed to act as custodians (Becke, 1973). This campaign, along with the shortage of manpower during the war, led to the employment of women by several police departments. These women were not hired as sworn officers and did not have the power of arrest (Horne, 1975). In 1918, an official body of policewomen was formed within the London Metropolitan Police. While these women still did not have the power of arrest, they were supervised by female sergeants and superintendents. The work these women patrols did was almost exclusively concerned with policing women and children and their role was heavily oriented toward social work (Horne, 1975).

In 1922, the number of policewomen employed in London was cut from 100 to 20. The reason for this reduction was allegedly one of economy, but it is likely that the hostility of male police was also involved. However, influential women's groups pressured the government to expand both the numbers and the powers of women police and in 1923 women were finally sworn in as Constables and given full police powers. These powers were seldom used, however, as most of the work done by policewomen still consisted of guarding women prisoners, working with children and runaways, and the other traditional tasks of women police officers (Becke, 1973). While the numbers of women police steadily increased and while women were promoted to senior ranks in significant numbers, there was little change in role until 1972. In that year, the Equal Pay Act was passed which guaranteed that women would receive equal pay and that they would be assigned to equal hours of duty and conditions of service. The separate women's section of the Metropolitan Police was closed in 1973 and women were integrated into the full range of police duties, including uniformed patrol. By 1974, women made up almost 5 percent of police strength in England and Wales (Hilton, 1976). The biggest change in role came with passage of the Sex Discrimination Act in 1975. Both male and female police had argued that the police should be excluded from the Act, but these protests were unsuccessful. Once the Act was passed, most departments went over to complete integration and no longer gave men and women different assignments. Women have applied and have been hired in fairly substantial numbers, and by 1978 approximately 8 percent of British police officers were female (Southgate, 1979).

Because a disproportionate number of women are assigned to beat duties due to their low seniority, Sullivan estimates that at times the percentage of women serving some particular areas may approach 20 percent (1979).

The history of women police in North America parallels the British experience. As Melchionne has noted "If history has taught women anything, it has demonstrated that any significant advance women have made in police work has been precipitated by forces outside the police establishment," (1974:348). Women first became affiliated with police departments as prison matrons during the middle and late 19th century at the urging of organizations such as the Women's Prison Association and the American Female Society. The concern was, of course, that female prisoners be held in separate quarters and cared for by women matrons rather that by male officers. Attempts to pressure police departments into hiring women as constables met with less success, as such a move was vehemently opposed by police officials.[1]

The first American policewoman was hired in Los Angeles in 1910 and women were admitted to a number of other American police departments during World War I. In New York City, the hiring of women was prompted by a concern for the fate of young women in a city full of troops on their way overseas. Once again, outside pressures on government officials led to the hiring of female officers to act in a protective capacity toward women and children. In 1915, the International Association of Chiefs of Police officially noted the use-

fulness of female officers, a step which further encouraged the expansion of the number of women in police work.

Women were still not permitted to take part in the full range of police duties and for the most part played the role of social worker, prison matron, or clerk. Most large departments had separate Women's Bureaus which minimized the competition between men and women for promotion and which ensured that women who were promoted would not supervise male officers. In most departments the limited duties performed by women were reflected in their lower pay and restricted opportunities for advancement.

It was not until 1968 that a major department, Indianapolis, assigned women to patrol duties. By 1971, there were still fewer than a dozen women assigned to patrol duties in the U.S. - by 1974, there were almost 1,000. Not surprisingly, the reason for this rapid increase was legislative change--in 1972 Congress amended the Civil Rights Act and extended coverage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act to police departments and to to other public employers (Milton, 1978). As a result of court decisions and pressure from the federal government, the number of women police in the United States almost doubled between 1971 and 1975 although they still make up less than 2 percent of the total number.[2] While hardly typical, examples of the progress that women have made in departments which have had relatively unrestrictive employment practices can be found in the Washington D.C. Police Department where by 1977 women made up about 6 percent of the

total strength and 10 percent of the patrol force (Milton, 1976) and in the Detroit Police Department where women make up almost 12 percent of all sworn personnel.

The situation in Canada has paralleled that in the U.S. and in Britain. Women were first hired by police departments early in this century--the first policewomen were hired in Vancouver in 1912 and Toronto, Winnipeg, and Edmonton followed suit in 1913, 1917 and 1919 respectively (Owings, 1969). Very little data are available on women police in Canada.[3] Halliday (1975) has prepared a brief historical account of women in the Vancouver Police Department which appears to be typical of the experience in other Canadian cities. Following the hiring of the first two women, who were neither trained nor issued with uniforms, a Women's Division was formed in 1921 which consisted of a woman inspector and three female officers. These women were mainly employed as prison matrons, but by 1943 they were also dealing with juveniles and with women offenders and victims. Women were given uniforms in 1947 and in 1952 began to receive the same training program as male officers. However, their duties were still quite restricted and during part of the 1960's women were taken off all street duties and given jobs inside the police station. In 1973, under pressure from the provincial government, the first women were assigned to general patrol duties. Shortly after that, the Department increased its hiring of women until by 1977 women made up approximately 5 percent of the department's strength.

Women had been employed by the RCMP for many years as civilian members who were subject to the rules and regulations of the Force but who did not have police powers and did not wear uniforms. The RCMP began preliminary work looking at the feasibility of employing women members in 1970, and the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women strongly recommended that such a policy be implemented. After several more years of study and discussion, a troop of women began training in September, 1974 and graduated on March 3, 1975. Since 1975 about 10 percent of new recruits have been female, and the current strength is about 390, or about 2.9 percent.

While comparable data are not available for the years before 1977, data on the total number of sworn officers in Canada shows that the percentage has increased from 1.8 percent in 1978 to 2.2 percent in 1980. The 1980 percentage represents a total of 1,160 female police officers in all jurisdictions. Police Administration Statistics for cities and districts of over 50,000 population illustrate the fact that the number of women police in Canada has increased significantly only during the past few years. (See Table 1.)

While these figures indicate that there has been a substantial increase in the number of women police hired since 1972, the increase has not been uniform across all parts of the country. Cities in Quebec in particular, have very few female police officers. Table 2 shows the proportion of female officers employed in cities and districts of over 100,000 population in 1977.[4]

TABLE 1

Percentage of Females in Canadian Police Departments for Selected Years from 1960 - 1980.

| Year | Male | Female | Percent Females |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1960 | 13,617 | 167 | 1.2% |
| 1965 | 13,038 | 189 | 1.4% |
| 1970 | 16,748 | 189 | 1.1% |
| 1971 | 18,088 | 190 | 1.0% |
| 1972 | 18,704 | 189 | 1.0% |
| 1973 | 20,588 | 208 | 1.0% |
| 1974 | 21,423 | 260 | 1.2% |
| 1975 | 22,296 | 369 | 1.7% |
| 1976 | 24,321 | 397 | 1.6% |
| 1977 | 24,711 | 433 | 1.8% |
| 1978 | 24,338 | 433 | 1.8% |
| 1979 | 24,451 | 468 | 1.9% |
| 1980 | 24,583 | 542 | 2.2% |

*(NOTE: Figures are for Canadian cities and districts over 50,000 population. There may be slight differences in the data after 1977 since the format of presentation of the data changed in 1978.)

SOURCE: Law Enforcement Section, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada.

TABLE 2

Percentage of Female Police Officers Employed in Cities and Districts over 100,000 Population in 1980

| | Males | Females | Percent Females |
|---|---|---|---|
| Burnaby (RCMP) | 206 | 5 | 2.4 |
| Calgary | 1059 | 50 | 4.5 |
| Durham Regional (Ont.) | 367 | 12 | 3.2 |
| Edmonton | 985 | 45 | 4.4 |
| Halifax | 280 | 3 | 1.1 |
| Halton Regional (Ont.) | 276 | 11 | 3.8 |
| Hamilton-Wentworth | 705 | 11 | 1.5 |
| Laval | 374 | 0 | 0.0 |
| London | 330 | 3 | 0.9 |
| Longueil | 182 | 6 | 3.2 |
| Montreal | 4795 | 25 | .5 |
| Niagara Regional (Ont.) | 573 | 10 | 1.7 |
| Ottawa | 571 | 9 | 1.6 |
| Peel Regional (Ont.) | 594 | 41 | 6.5 |
| Quebec | 406 | 2 | .5 |
| Regina | 314 | 8 | 2.5 |
| Richmond (RCMP) | 126 | 5 | 3.8 |
| Saskatoon | 294 | 6 | 2.0 |
| Sudbury Regional (Ont.) | 208 | 8 | 3.7 |
| Surrey (RCMP) | 190 | 7 | 3.6 |
| Thunder Bay | 178 | 5 | 2.7 |
| Toronto | 5410 | 122 | 2.2 |
| Vancouver | 996 | 55 | 5.2 |
| Waterloo Regional | 432 | 10 | 2.3 |
| Windsor | 369 | 8 | 2.1 |
| Winnipeg | 1006 | 25 | 2.4 |
| York Regional (Ont.) | 327 | 2 | .6 |

SOURCE: Law Enforcement Section, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada.

It is likely that this increase in the proportion of female officers will continue. In the survey of Canadian departments discussed in Appendix 1, several of the departments with few female members indicated that they had changed their hiring policies in order to recruit more women. A major reason for this change is human rights legislation, but at least two other factors are involved. First of all, while there is some disagreement as to the number of women departments should employ and to the type of role in which they are used, virtually everyone feels that females have a contribution to make to policing. They are particularly valuable for such jobs as searching females without having to bring them into the station, undercover work, and intelligence work such as surveillance. Secondly, as the age structure of our population changes, the pool of eligible candidates for police work will diminish. The rapid decline in the birth-rate following the baby boom means that the average age of the Canadian population will increase significantly. Robert Brown, a statistician from the University of Waterloo, has calculated that the average growth rate in the Canadian labour force attributable to people 15-24 increased by 3.7 percent from 1960 to 1965; by 4.8 percent from 1965 to 1970; and by 5.2 percent from 1970 to 1975. Since 1975 this rate has been dropping and will reach minus 2.2 percent by 1990 (Brown, 1979). During the 1980's there will be about 20 percent fewer men reaching recruitment age. Because of its lower birth rate, this problem will be particularly acute in Quebec, where the pool of potential recruits will drop by as much as 40 percent. Martin (1979) has looked at the projected demands for police recruits into the 1980's

and has shown that even at current rates of labor force entry, police departments will have a difficult time attracting a sufficient number of male recruits.[4]

The fact that manpower demands are increasing while the pool of potential recruits is declining means that there will be a great deal of competition for young workers and that police departments will not be in as favorable a hiring position as they have been in for the past few years. Unless salaries are significantly increased, or recruiting standards drastically changed, departments will have to hire more females.[5] Hiring problems may be even more severe if private security companies, which have expanded rapidly during the past decade, decide to become more competitive with police departments in their recruitment.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Melchionne notes that one group "sanctimoniously rationalized its opposition on the grounds that a 'decent, sober respectable women' would be 'contaminated and demoralized by her contact with such depraved creatures' as female alcoholic prisoners" (1974: 348). She goes on to observe that many police officials have still not lost their concern for the protection of women.

2. As an indication of the kind of outside pressure that has led to this change in hiring policies Milton found that "there have been over a dozen law suits over the past six years relating to the use of women on patrol and all have resulted in modifications of hiring procedures which make it easier for women to be hired" (1978:187). Further, federal grant funds have been cut off to police agencies which refused to employ women on patrol duties. For example, in 1976 LEAA cut off grant funds to the South Carolina Highway Patrol because of that department's restrictive hiring practices (Kiernan and Cusick, 1977).

3. The major historical account of Canadian policing does not even acknowledge the existence of women police (Kelly and Kelly, 1976).

4. One organization which has already been affected by a shortage of manpower is the U.S. Military. The pool of eligible recruits has been shrinking so rapidly that Cookson (1980) reports that by the late 1980's the U.S. Military will have to recruit between 30-50 percent of <u>all</u> fit and qualified young males to meet its manpower needs.

5. It might also be noted that as the pool of 15-24 year olds shrinks, crime rates should start to drop. This age group is involved in more crime than any other, and makes up a large proportion of the "clients" of police services. This might mean that police departments will be reduced in size. However, given the demands for increased resources in areas such as enforcement of laws against white collar offenders, it is not likely that the demand for police recruits will decrease significantly in the near future. This is borne out by the manpower projections reported by Martin (1979) which show a need of 8 percent of current strength each year from now until 1982.

# CHAPTER 2

## DEPLOYMENT OF WOMEN OFFICERS

The brief historical account of the role of women in policing presented in the previous chapter indicates rather clearly that most of the progress women have made in the profession has been as a result of outside pressure. Police departments have typically not been very receptive to hiring women, to promoting them, or to utilizing them to perform the full range of police duties.

While it is apparent that present trends toward the increased hiring of women by police departments will continue, there are a number of different strategies which can be used in deploying female officers. Three possible models which have been proposed are: co-existence, with women working under a Women's Bureau which is separate from the rest of the department; assimilation in a pluralistic department in which men and women are treated as equals, but in which the kinds of assignments given to each group are somewhat different; and total integration with males in all aspects of police work.

The first alternative is the traditional way in which police-women have been employed. A separate bureau is maintained where women work mainly with other women and are assigned to the traditional female roles of policing women and children. Male and female officers do not

compete for promotion, and women who do get promoted do not supervise male officers. There are a number of objections to this way of organizing a department. First of all, legal objections have been raised to the existence of separate Women's Bureaus in both Britain and the U.S. and it is likely that the Canadian human rights legislation will require a higher degree of integration of female officers into the mainstream of police work. Secondly, separation of women from a major part of police work is not a very efficient use of trained employees. For example, several of the female officers interviewed by Prindiville (1975) in Vancouver said that the assignments they were given under such a structure were so restricted that they often had to make work to fill in the time. Often women were employed in the Report Center and could not easily be freed when they were needed for other work. Also, even when women were out on the streets in cars, they were often ignored by dispatchers. This meant that the dispatchers did not know where the women were or what they were doing. This was discouraging for the women officers, who felt they were not being taken seriously. Further, their lack of experience meant that when they were called upon, they were not able to perform with a very high degree of proficiency. This can have potentially serious consequences when women are called upon to participate in a relatively dangerous assignment such as working as decoys.

A third objection is that restrictions upon employment and the lack of promotional opportunity for women who might be well-qualified for advancement would have a negative effect on the morale of the women

officers. This may lead to reduced performance and to higher attrition rates for females.

The second pattern of integration, assimilation in a pluralistic model has been proposed by Vastola (1977) who suggests that women should be given duties which are equally prestigious, but different, from those performed by male officers. Vastola first of all notes that women have not been assigned to patrol duties because of a recognition by their male superiors that women will be particularly effective at this kind of work, but because of pressures for change from outside the police department. As a result, women have to face the opposition of members of a male-dominated police department who object to women being assigned to the full spectrum of police duties. He feels that the advancement of women in such an organizational climate will be facilitated if women compromise their objective of complete assimilation and at least initially restrict their patrol work to areas of police work that are seen as being culturally suitable for them. That is, women should identify areas where their feminine qualities may improve the delivery of police services and work at these assignments in order to increase their credibility in the eyes of male officers. Examples of such areas which he gives are family crisis intervention and traffic duty.[1] Once acceptance is gained in these areas of police work, women might be able to move into other areas without being viewed as a threat to the male-oriented social system of the police.

A critical response to this proposal was offered by Horne (1977). He notes that legally such definition of separate but equal roles is not possible. Also, when such a separation of roles is based on an ascribed characteristic such as sex, equality of status and opportunity is not likely to occur. In such a case, individuals are treated as members of a class and their individual capabilities are ignored. If women can handle domestic and traffic calls, it is difficult to imagine what sort of police functions they couldn't deal with. Horne also points out that small departments could not implement such a system, since they do not have a sufficient number of officers to allow for such task specialization. In addition to the points raised by Horne, it is also likely that any attempt to restrict the role played by women would be strongly resisted by female officers, who would see such a move as an attempt to return to a Women's Bureau system.

The final mode of integration is that of assimilating women into the full range of police work, which means assigning them to patrol duties and giving them the same employment and promotional opportunities as males. The implications of such assignment go beyond the question of the ability of women to perform this particular job. For instance, if women are assigned to general patrol duties, the number of women hired will likely increase because patrol is the area of police work which requires the largest number of officers. As long as women are kept to specialized roles such as guarding women prisoners, juvenile squads, and so on, it is easy to place limits on the number of women hired. However, once women are assigned to patrol duties it becomes difficult to

justify hiring policies which exclude or restrict the number of women hired. A second implication is that if women are assigned to general patrol duties, they are at least officially recognized as being "real" police officers, rather than as specialists who do not play a central role in the department. Along with this goes the possibility of promotion to a position in which a women could be in command of a number of male officers, since promotion (except into specialized positions) is generally not possible without some patrol experience. Opening up patrol positions to women represents a major step for a police department to consider.

Not surprisingly, it is in this area that opposition to women is strongest. It has been alleged that women are not strong enough to handle such duties and that they run a greater risk of being assaulted. This kind of objection is not new. Purcell (1974) notes that women police in London worked on street patrol in the 1920's. However, "as they patrolled in pairs, they were followed by two male officers under orders to keep them in sight" (Purcell, 1974). A contemporary expression of the same view was given in an article commenting on the first course of female RCMP recruits:

> Women in the force? I think it's a great idea," said an off-duty constable passing through Regina ... ' You know,' he confided, 'I've always said that there are many things that a woman can do even better than men. But let's face it, there are some things they just aren't cut out for--and there are some real dangers out there in the field. I'd hate to see a 19-year-old girl constable go out in a patrol car alone. She might get raped." (Primeau:1975).[2]

Some police officials fear that this concern with the protection of women will carry over into police work and will lead to such practices as providing extra back-up assistance when females respond to certain kinds of calls, and to a reduction in the flexibility of dispatchers in their assignment of patrol officers.

In order to assess the validity of these criticisms, a number of studies have been done evaluating the effectiveness of women's performance. Since the issue of women on patrol is such an important and controversial one, each of the major evaluation studies will be discussed in some detail.

Washington, D.C.

The first police department in North America to assign large numbers of women to general patrol duties was Washington. Research was conducted by the Police Foundation in order to assess the performance of the women officers (Bloch and Anderson, 1974). In this study, the performance of 86 new women officers was compared with that of a comparison group of 86 men who had been hired at the same time. The evaluation looked at their work over a one-year period, and used such measures as evaluations by supervisors, observation of patrol work, interviews with citizens, and police department statistics.

The researchers found that women and men performed patrol work in the same manner. The situations they handled were comparable,

and both sexes handled difficult calls involving violent or angry citizens about equally well. No critical incidents were observed or reported which were handled in such a manner as to suggest that women couldn't cope with the demands of patrol work. Women were as likely as men to "take charge" in an incident, and back-up was more often sent to single or two man units than to units with a single woman or a male/female team. Performance ratings for both sexes were similar, though on the average women were ranked somewhat below the comparison men. The difference was not felt to be serious, as the overall ratings for both sexes indicated that nearly all officers were performing at a satisfactory level. Performance in the police academy was also similar for both groups.

The major difference between the performance of the two groups was that women made fewer arrests and gave fewer traffic citations. However, women were often given other assignments, and spent less time on patrol than did the men. Also, there was considerable overlap in that 60 percent of the women made as many or more arrests as 25 percent of the men. Other differences included the fact that men engaged in unbecoming conduct more often than women. While women were more likely to be assigned light duties because of injuries than were men, they did not have a higher absentee rate than men because of these injuries. Traffic accident rates for both sexes were the same, though women took longer to pass their driving test. Attrition rates were almost identical.

The citizens who were interviewed were quite accepting of the women officers. They showed the same amount of respect for officers of both sexes, and had favorable attitudes toward both groups. Citizens were supportive of the idea of assigning women to patrol duties, though they had some doubts about how well women would be able to cope with violent situations.

St. Louis County

Sherman (1975) conducted a study of 16 female and 16 male officers in a suburban area. Unlike the Washington and New York police, these officers all worked in one-person cars. Sherman gathered data from field observation, citizen interviews, attitude surveys of the entire force which were administered before and after the hiring of women, performance ratings, objective records (sick leave, commendations, etc.) and personal interviews. He concluded that women were able to do the job as well as men. The kinds of calls handled by women were similar to those dealt with by men, and the women were able to deal with difficult situations as well as the men. During the period of his research, Sherman found no examples of critical incidents female officers were unable to handle in a satisfactory fashion.

There were some differences between men and women, though these were not considered to have resulted in significant performance differences. First of all, the women made fewer arrests and few car

and pedestrian stops, indicating a less aggressive style of policing. However, contrary to the experience in Washington, the St. Louis County women awarded more traffic citations than did the men.

Community reaction to the women officers was favorable. The citizens interviewed felt that female police were more sympathetic and more compassionate and better able to handle service and domestic calls. The citizens were also satisfied with the manner in which the women handled non-service calls, and felt no less safe when women officers answered their calls. This perception of competence was supported by the experience of ride-along observers who rated both sexes equally capable.

Sherman did not find any significant differences in performance ratings of men and women, but did find differences on some of the objective measures he used. For example, women had a higher rate of traffic accidents and less skill with firearms than their male peers. Also, there was a perception among supervisory personnel that women were less committed to a career in policing than were men. This view was also expressed by the women, who said they would leave the department if their work conflicted with their family life. However, none of the five married officers had left the force at the time of the study.

The attitude surveys given to members of the force before and after the hiring of women showed that the overall reaction of men

toward the women officers was negative, though there were some positive changes over the six-month period between surveys.

California Highway Patrol

In response to a lawsuit, the California Highway Patrol was directed to hire women for general patrol duties. As required by the State Legislature, an evaluation of their performance was conducted (CHP, 1976; Craig, 1977). Forty men and women were selected for training, and the study focused on the 30 men and 27 women who graduated from the academy. During training, the performance of the women was very good--the pistol shooting award was won by a woman, and five of the top eight graduates were women. One difference noted by Craig was that the injury rate for women in training was higher and the cost per injury greater than for males.

After graduation, reports of field training officers and performance evaluations were used as measures of the capabilities of females and comparison males. The field trainers gave essentially the same ratings to males and females on all but three of the sixteen tasks considered critical to the traffic officer's job. The exceptions were that women were ranked higher than men in "investigating and preparing written reports on traffic accidents, arrests, etc." while the males were ranked higher on the tasks of "using force" and "arresting physically combative persons". However, these two tasks were performed very infrequently and could not be reliably rated. The

evaluators felt that there were insufficient data to make any conclusions on the degree to which physical strength was a requirement for the traffic officers' job and on the degree to which women could perform tasks requiring strength and aggressiveness.

Performance evaluations carried out by supervisors at three different times indicated that both males and females continued to perform acceptably following the completion of field training. Ratings were similar for males and females, though males tended to improve over time to a greater extent than did females. Statistics on the activity of the females and comparison males were also analyzed. These included such things as number and type of arrests, notices to appear issued, warnings given, services rendered to citizens, and accidents investigated. There were some differences in activity levels, most of which favored the male officers. However, the researchers felt that this was due to differences in the type of beat patrolled by men and women and was not indicative of lower levels of performance by the females. Supervisors rated women well on their level of activity.

Women had a lower vehicle accident rate than males, though more of the females' accidents were judged to have been driver-preventable. The rate of complaints for females was below the average of the force as a whole, but was higher than that for the group of comparison males. The total number of complaints was four for comparison males and eight for females (including the only two excessive force

complaints). The major conclusion of the study was that it was feasible to employ women as state traffic officers. Tdeir level of performance was acceptable and, while there would be some increased cost due to higher rates of attrition and injury, the extra costs were not exorbitant.[3]

New York City

In 1972, the Urban Institute conducted a study in New York which compared 14 women officers with a randomly selected group of 14 male officers. The two groups were not matched on a number of relevant variables and were not performing exactly the same duties. According to an account of this study in Sichel et al., "The women and men made equal numbers of arrests, but the women received more official commendations and were considered better at defusing potentially explosive situations. The men took greater initiative in making traffic stops while the women provided more emotional support to civilians (1978:8).

A second study which was carried out in New York City is one of the most thorough evaluations available of women in policing. Sichel and her colleagues compared the patrol performance of 41 female officers with the performance of a matched group of 41 male officers. Matching was carried out by length of time on the force, patrol experience, and type of precinct. The principal method used in the study was observation by police and civilian personnel. During the

course of this study, there was direct observation of 3625 hours of patrol during which 2400 police-civilian encounters were recorded. Also, the researchers interviewed a number of civilians who were involved in incidents not observed by the research team.

The researchers initially planned to look at the performance of males and females in violent or potentially violent situations. For a number of reasons, among them the rare nature of such incidents, they decided to focus instead on control-seeking behavior by officers in police-civilian encounters.

The major finding of the study was that the performance of male and female officers was similar. Contrary to expectations, both sexes used the same style of patrol. The same control-seeking techniques were used and both sexes were equally likely to use force, to display a weapon, or to give a direct order to a civilian. Performance ratings of the two groups were about the same. There were some differences, but these were small. Females were found to be less assertive and less likely to engage in control-seeking behavior. They were less likely to be recorded as arresting officers and were less involved in strenuous activity. They also took more sick time. However, females were rated as being more competent and more respectful by citizens who had been involved in encounters with the police. Further, those citizens who had had contact with female officers had more positive attitudes toward the Police Department in general than did those who had contact with male officers. These differences in

citizen satisfaction were a bit unexpected, since the observational data had indicated that there were few differences in what the officers did on a call. Males and females were equally likely to engage in "service" types of activities. The researchers suggest that the more favorable attitudes toward females may have been due either to the fact that females were more likely to offer comfort or sympathy to civilians or to the fact that they were less likely than males to try to seek control on calls.

Denver, Colorado

In response to a Consent Decree approved by the United States District Court, the Civil Service Commission of Denver carried out a study to evaluate the performance of women on the Denver Police Department. Since there was doubt about whether or not women could handle the physical aspects of policing as well as men, and since previous research had indicated that women made fewer arrests and issued fewer citations, Barnett and Rosenblum (1977) decided to focus their attention mainly in these areas.

The research compared each of the 27 women on patrol or traffic duties with a male officer who was matched according to length of service and assignment. The researchers gathered data from the officers' monthly performance summaries, from departmental records, and from 240 hours of ride-along with male and female officers. Very few significant differences were found between males and females.

Perhaps the most important finding was that women made as many arrests as did the matched males. This finding was true both for dispatcher-initiated and officer-initiated calls. Further, the women were able to accomplish this with fewer citizen complaints and fewer incidents of resisting arrest. The incidence of serious resistance was so low (about 1.3 per year for the men) that the researchers didn't feel that the physical limitations of the females affected their ability to make arrests. On the negative side, women gave and received fewer instructions from their partners and had higher rates of sick leave. Other differences such as the higher scores of males in shooting tests and higher entrance test scores for females are not really of practical significance in terms of the ability of males and females to function effectively as police officers.

Newton, Massachusetts

Twelve women were hired by the Newton Police Department in 1975. An evaluation carried out by Kizziah and Morris (1977) compared the performance of these women with that of the twenty-three males in their recruit class. The women did very well in training, with women holding the top four positions in their class and with eleven of the twelve women graduating in the top half of the class. This high level of performance was at least in part due to the fact that the women had all completed some college and on the average had about 2-1/2 years more schooling than did the males. Eight of the women and only one man had completed college degrees.

The major performance measure used was the number of arrests presented in court. Male and female officers made the same average number of arrests per day and filed the same number of charges per day. Women recorded twice as many felony charges per day, while men made twice as many traffic arrests. A higher proportion of the females' cases were dismissed in court. The women handled fewer non-arrest police incidents, but much of the difference is explained by the fact that several of the men were assigned to particularly busy areas of the city. There were few differences reported in departmental commendations, reprimands, or citizen complaints. Men received more complimentary letters from citizens.

The researchers also looked at supervisors' evaluations of the females and comparison males. The average scores for males and females were almost identical. Community attitude surveys indicated that the citizens generally accepted the female officers. A majority of the civic leaders contacted in one survey felt that the addition of females had improved the department. Another survey had been carried out of citizens who had been contacted by the police in the line of duty. These citizens rated the female officers as being more competent than were the males. These favorable attitudes expressed by the public contrasted with the largely negative attitudes toward female officers on the part of male police. For this department the performance and public acceptance of female officers was equal to or better than that of their male peers.

Philadelphia

As the result of a class action suit, the Philadelphia Police Department was required to hire 100 women to perform sector patrol work. As part of this ruling, the city was required to conduct a study to determine if sex differences existed in the manner in which these patrol duties were carried out. The study, which was carried out by Bartell Associates (n.d.), compared the performance of 100 men and 100 women who were hired and trained at the same time, and who were assigned to the same police districts.

The major part of the study consisted of extensive observation conducted by carefully trained observers. The observers were asked to rate the performance of the females and comparison males on behaviorally-anchored rating scales of seventeen different critical incidents. Each evaluator reviewed each recruit at least once and usually twice over the nine month observational period. A total of over 3,000 incidents were observed and rated by the evaluators. The results of this observational study are summarized as follows: "It is therefore concluded that, as rated by male evaluators, there is no difference in the performance of male and female recruits; and, as rated by female evaluators, there is no difference in performance on eight of the incidents while females perform better on three of the incidents and males perform better on one incident"[4] (1978:114). The researchers also compared mean rating values for males and females across all 17 incidents and found no difference for ratings of male

evaluators while female evaluators rated female recruits significantly higher than male recruits.

Another part of the Philadelphia study involved comparing the personnel records of the females and comparison males. It was found that women were no more likely than men to be injured on duty or to take sick leave. Also, there was no significant difference in Part I or Part II arrests made by males and females, though computation of averages from the data presented in the report indicates that the average number of arrests for females was slightly below the average for males. The researchers also looked at automobile accidents, and found no significant sex difference in the number of accidents. Females also performed as well as males during their police academy training. The conclusion of Phase I of the report was that there was virtually no difference between the observed performance of male and female officers performing sector patrol duties.

Phase II of the study consisted of an analysis of data gathered by the Philadelphia Police Department dealing with violent confrontations, number of arrests, motor vehicle accidents, and disciplinary reports. The second phase of the study used data collected over a 19 month period, which included the period of time when the observers were in the field. In this phase of the study, significant differences were found between males and females. The men averaged 17.6 arrests and the females 12 arrests, which is a statistically significant difference. Virtually all of this difference was in

arrests for Part I (serious) crimes. Further, females required more assistance in making arrests than did males, were assaulted more often while making arrests and required help more often than men once they had been assaulted. No differences were found in the number of injuries received while making arrests, or in the number of arrests made in situations that resulted in violent confrontations or in pursuits. Men were found to have had fewer motor vehicle accidents and took fewer days off due to injuries received on the job. Women were found guilty of disciplinary violations more often than were the comparison males.

On the basis of the Phase II results, the researchers conclude that it would inadvisable to hire women for sector patrol work unless the hiring was done for the purpose of conducting further research. It is difficult to know how to assess this conclusion. On the one hand, Bartell Associates conducted a nine month observational study using carefully selected and well-trained observers. On the basis of observation of over 3000 incidents, supplemented by personnel data on injuries, sick leave, motor vehicle accidents, and number of arrests, the researchers concluded that there were virtually no significant differences between males and females. Those differences which they did find nearly all favored the females.

After reporting these results, the researchers present a supplementary study with findings which contradict those presented earlier in the report. They make no attempt to explain the differences, even where such an explanation is obviously required. For

instance, the Phase II data includes the time period for which the Phase I data were collected. The Phase I data showed that there were no differences in Part I or Part II arrests, motor vehicle accidents, or number of days lost due to injuries received while on the job. Even though almost 50 percent of the time period during which the Phase II data were collected overlapped with the Phase I study, significant differences were found over the longer period. While it is possible that the arrest rate, driving performance, and injury rate for females seriously deteriorated during the time no observation was going on, the extent of the difference makes this explanation unlikely. Perhaps because of the inconsistencies in the report, a federal judge did not accept the conclusions and in 1979 ordered the Philadelphia Police Department to stop discriminating against women (Horne, 1980).

Canadian Research

Some research on the effectiveness of women police has been done in Canada, but the studies have not been very extensive. For example, Whetstone (1978) completed a questionnaire study of 52 policewomen and 42 male field trainers in the province of Alberta. He found that women were participating in the full range of police activities, including general patrol. Most of the females felt that they were doing as good a job as males, particularly in car patrol. They also felt that the response from the public has been quite favorable. However, the responses from the field trainers were not as positive. The large majority of the trainers in municipal departments felt that

the women were not performing as effectively as their male peers. The RCMP trainers, who worked mainly in rural areas, were much more positive regarding the capabilities of female officers.

Prindiville carried out a study of the Vancouver Police Department which, while not primarily concerned with evaluating women's patrol performance, reached conclusions similar to those of Whetstone. The women surveyed by Prindiville had confidence in their abilities, and felt they could handle patrol situations as well as men. Men, on the other hand, were particularly skeptical of the women's ability to handle violent or potentially violent situations. Men who had worked with women were less likely to express such attitudes.

The Ontario Provincial Police (1978) completed a study of the performance of their women officers based in part on performance reviews completed on 47 of the 69 women currently on the force. They concluded that the women were performing well in their duties and found no evidence that they could not perform the various roles of a police officer because of limitations of height, weight or sex. The report also indicates that supervisory personnel have a favorable attitude toward the women who work for them.

Performance evaluation data made available in 1978 by the RCMP show that comparable ratings have been given to men and women on the force. The evaluations consist of objective and subjective ratings for general duty policing and for traffic enforcement duties.

The maximum possible score on the objective (diagnostic forced-choice) portion of the evaluation is 40, while the maximum possible score on the subjective (scaled behavioral statements) portion is 35. For general duty policing the mean for women on the objective assessment was 20.0 and for the force as a whole was 21.7 (this latter figure is inclusive of women, but since 114 women and 3837 men are included in the ratings, the results are not substantially affected by the inclusion of women). For the subjective portion of the evaluation the scores were 24.28 and 25.68 respectively. For personnel assigned to traffic enforcement duties, the objective scores were 25.1 for women (N=12) and 24.98 for men (N=868), and the subjective scores were 25.42 and 25.50 respectively. These scores indicate little difference between supervisors' assessments of male and female officers.

Discussion

While there are some differences between these studies, they all give some support to the view that women can carry out general patrol duties effectively. However, the research suggests that women are less aggressive, make fewer arrests, and are less likely to engage in control-seeking than are male officers. While part of this difference may be due to differences in sex role socialization, there are some other possibilities. Crites feels that the lower arrest rate for females may be due to the fact that "many arrests are the result of an overly aggressive police officer who causes a routine incident to erupt into a near-violent confrontation, thus forcing an arrest"

(1973:12). She goes on to indicate that women are less likely than men to provoke this sort of violent reaction and consequently are less likely to have to make arrests.

Several of the studies also claim that when a woman is on patrol with a man, which is most often the case, the experienced male officer will take charge while on patrol. In some cases cited in the New York study, male officers actually told their female partners to stand back while they (the men) looked after the situation. The male officer would then be credited with the arrests made by the team. Data from the New York study suggest that one reason for women making fewer arrests and having fewer traffic citations is that women are less likely to be assigned to a steady partner than are men, and so may be at a disadvantage in negotiations over who will get credit for an arrest (Sichel et al., 1978:51).

Differences have also been found between male and female officers in their ability to initiate and to maintain control in a situation. For example, the St. Louis study indicated that men were more likely than women to accept responsibility and to use their initiative (Milton, 1974). In their study of Washington police, Bloch and Anderson found that men "took charge" in 25 percent of the observed incidents and the women in 21 percent. The New York study examined control-seeking behavior very extensively and reported that women were less likely to get involved in control-seeking behavior, with the males participating in 75 percent of the control attempts of

a team of officers, and the females participating in 68 percent of the attempts. In cases where only one officer was responsible for the control attempt, male and female subject officers were each involved in 55 percent of the attempts made by their patrol team. It was also found that women were less successful in achieving control, but differences here were small.

Several reasons were outlined in the New York study to explain the differences in the control-seeking behavior of the comparison male and female officers. One reason suggested was the differential deployment of male and female officers which resulted in the women having less actual patrol experience. This was because women were more likely to be assigned to non-patrol jobs such as guarding prisoners. Also, they changed partners more frequently than did males, so they had less of an opportunity to learn about the areas in which they were working and were less likely to have developed a close working relationship with a partner.

While some might use these differences to support their view that women will never make good police officers, other evidence from this study suggests this view is not justified. For example, despite the fact that the women had less actual patrol experience, differences between the two groups disappeared in situations where there were indications of danger. Under these conditions, women and men were equally likely to try to gain control. Further, there were 30 occasions during the 580 observed attempts at seeking control in

which civilians reacted physically toward the officer or reached for a weapon. "These acts were directed equally at male and female officers and officers of both sexes reacted with rough physical contact, orders or use of the body without touch" (Sichel et al., 1978:43). Women and men were also equally likely to remain at the scene when a victim had serious injuries or other unpleasant characteristics.

Many of the sex differences in control-seeking behavior also disappeared when women were given female partners. Women were more assertive and were as active as men when assigned to patrol with another woman. They were also much more likely to be involved in control-seeking and less likely to try to get help from fellow officers and from civilians. However, even when two women were together, they were still less likely than males to achieve their control objectives. The researchers also found that women performed more effectively in a precinct which had high morale and in which supervisors were supportive of the women officers. This suggests that departments employing women should be concerned with the quality of supervision they receive.

The studies discussed in this section nearly all indicate that women are able to carry out general patrol duties competently. There were some differences in the way men and women performed as patrol officers, but these did not materially affect the quality of police services received by the public. It should be noted that one problem in evaluating the performance of females is that there is no consensus as to the measures which should be used. Neither police departments nor researchers have been able to decide what performance standards can be used to differentiate between good and bad police officers. At this point all we know is that on the available indicators, the performance of males and females is similar.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Vastola appears to feel that women would be effective on traffic duty because they can be tactful with members of the public who are stopped for violations.

2. Milton (1972) notes a similar comment made by a precinct captain working in a department which regularly assigned women to relatively dangerous jobs such as working as decoys. We have not heard of any cases in which women police officers have been sexually molested or raped, but some police officials still view it as a potentially serious problem.

3. The cost was estimated to be 14.8 percent higher than the cost of selecting, training, and assigning a male to the field for an eleven-month period.

4. Insufficient numbers of five incidents were recorded to allow statistical testing.

# CHAPTER 3

## ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALE OFFICERS

### Attitudes of Male Officers

One of the major problems faced by women police officers is the attitude of their male co-workers. This fact has been noted by many observers, one of whom has stated that "the only trouble with women in policing is men in policing" (Lehtinen, 1976:55). As this quotation suggests, male officers are typically less than enthusiastic about expanding the role of women to include jobs such as general patrol duty. The attitudes of men may in fact be the greatest obstacle facing the move to expand the role of women in policing.[1]

Studies have confirmed the reluctance of male officers to accept female police. In their study of the Washington department, Bloch and Anderson found that policemen did not feel that women were as capable as men of performing patrol duties. They were particularly concerned about the ability of women to handle disorderly males. Since some have suggested that such negative attitudes will be reduced as more of the men have had a chance to see women on the job, it was a bit surprising to note that patrolmen who worked in districts where women were assigned were even more negative toward the women than were men from other districts where there were no women, and that these negative attitudes did not change significantly over a one-year period.[2]

In his study of St. Louis County Police, Sherman (1975) also found that a majority of male officers had negative attitudes toward the females. However, in this study the attitudes of the men became a bit more favorable by the end of the six-month period during which the study was conducted.

The attitudes of male officers were also studied by the California Highway Patrol (1976). All uniformed officers in areas to which women had been assigned were surveyed before women entered the field, and again one year later. The male officers gave the females low ratings on both surveys. Most felt that women could not perform the traffic officer's job nearly as well as males. This feeling was particularly strong for tasks involving danger or the need for physical strength. There was an improvement in attitudes toward female officers during the year in which they were working in the field, but officers who had personal professional contact with the female officers had less favorable attitudes toward female officers than did other males. Male officers also rated the performance of females much less favorably than the performance of males.

Negative attitudes were also expressed by male officers in the Newton Police Department (Kizziah and Morris, 1977). In a survey taken when women were first hired, the male officers were asked to rate the performance of male and female officers on a number of tasks. For almost all of these tasks, the women were rated much lower than were men of equal experience. Women were rated higher only on the

item of questioning a rape victim and were rated about the same as men only for arresting prostitutes and writing reports.

Male attitudes were much the same on a second survey completed over two and one-half years later. While there were some minor changes on individual items, the male officers still did not think that women could perform nearly as well as could males and did not appear to be very supportive of the women in policing program. Subsequent interviews showed that the men felt women were too weak and not aggressive enough to handle patrol work. One important exception to these negative attitudes was the fact that men who had worked closely with female officers were the most positive in their attitudes. Several even expressed the view that there were no differences in the abilities of male and female officers. This suggests that those males who do continue to resist women in policing may be reacting more to their image of what the job is like than to the actual performance of the women, though these positive findings are limited to one department.

The finding that male attitudes are relatively resistant to change was repeated in Charles' study of recruits in the Michigan State Police. He found that neither males nor females changed their attitudes concerning the role of women during the recruit training period. He found that male concerns with female performance were mainly based on physical and safety concerns. Even though many of the males expressed respect for the aggressiveness shown by the women during self-defense training,

they still didn't feel that women could handle the physical aspects of the job as well as males. This concern was magnified during training because of the "war stories" the recruits heard and because of the emphasis on danger during the training program. Interestingly, Charles concluded that this concern was misplaced because "the major cause of trooper deaths, and the cause of misfortunes related in 'war stories' told at the academy, is improper police actions or procedure, not physical strength" (1981:218).

Most of the research which has been done on women police in Canada has also shown the prevalence of negative male attitudes. In Whetstone's Alberta survey (1978), the male respondents did not feel that women performed as well as men. Laronde (n.d.) carried out a survey of 30 male and 30 female members of the RCMP, and found that men did not feel that women could carry out all aspects of the police job as well as men.[3] A more recent survey by Hylton et al. (1979) of members of the Regina Police Department showed a more positive response, with 2/3 of the members saying that it didn't make any difference if they worked with a male or a female.

While the attitudes of male officers have been well-documented, less attention has been paid to the reasons why men dislike the idea of patrolling with women. The literature suggests at least four reasons why women are not accepted. First of all, male officers feel that the image of the police profession will suffer as a result of hiring females. Laronde found this to be a major source of dissatisfaction among the RCMP officers he surveyed. 38 percent of the males in

his sample felt that public esteem for the Force had suffered because of the hiring of women. This view is illustrated by a patrolman interviewed by Milton who complained that "the job has already too much of a social worker image; it's a man's job; let's not degrade it by adding more women" (1972:24).[4] Sherman (1975) also found that many of the men felt that the public would simply not accept women patrol officers. This view is contradicted by citizen surveys discussed later in this chapter which show that the attitudes of the public and the image of the police are not harmed by the employment of larger numbers of women. In fact, there is some evidence that contact with female officers leads to a more favorable attitude toward the police.

A second reason is the feeling that women are not committed to policing as a career. It is felt that women will only stay on the job until they find a husband and have children. Because of this it is felt that women will not have the same commitment to doing a good job as will males. Laronde's study indicated that his respondents share this view. 62 percent of his male respondents felt that women viewed the RCMP as a temporary or short-term situation rather than as a long-term career.

Martin (1980) has suggested a third reason for the negative feelings of male officers which is that women are a threat to their social world. Police have traditionally been a rather closed and homogeneous occupational group and women are a threat to group solidarity. Also, a male officer's definition of policing as men's work, and consequently his own self concept, is called into question if it turns out that women can do the job as well.

A fourth major reason for opposing the integration of women into patrol duties is the fear that women will not be able to cope with the violence which is believed to be an important part of police work. The abilities of female officers in this area have been met with a good deal of skepticism, and this has been a major factor in limiting or refusing women the chance to perform general patrol duties.[5] For instance, Conrad and Glorioso (1975) studied a group of Maryland State Police who expressed concern that women would not be able to defend themselves and that male officers would have to worry about protecting them. In a study of recruits at the Michigan State Police Training Academy it was found that male recruits were relatively supportive of the academic and technical abilities of female officers, but felt that female officers couldn't perform the physical aspects of the job as well as their male counterparts (Charles, 1978).

While it is perceived as an important issue, the question of violence in police work must be put in perspective. Violence has long been identified as being part of policing. The police and the public are exposed to media which emphasize the danger of the police role. Police spend a significant part of their training discussing and preparing for the threat of violence and upon graduation they enter a subculture which emphasizes the danger faced by police officers. While one cannot deny that policing can, at times, be a dangerous occupation, the actual rates of death and injury are substantially lower than those of many other occupations. In reality, the probability of a police officer encountering violent resistance while on

patrol duties is not high.[6]

To begin with, the majority of calls answered by police are of a service nature (Reid, 1979). Patrol officers spend a good deal of their time dealing with problems which do not involve any threat or potential need to resort to violence. Even in cases where violence is a possible outcome such as breaking up fights, responding to a burglary in progress call, etc. violence does not often occur. Kiernan and Cusick (1977) state that Miami police officials have estimated that only 1 in every 1,000 encounters between police officers and citizens required the use of physical force. The observational research which has been done comparing the performance of male and female officers has documented the infrequent nature of violent incidents. For example, Sichel et al. (1978) note that in 322 observed patrol incidents involving women officers in the Washington D.C. study, civilians made verbal threats in 25 and used physical force in only 5 incidents. The same authors also cite data from the California Highway Patrol study which found that over a one-year period only half of the officers encountered even one person who physically resisted arrest. Turning to their own research in New York City, Sichel et al. found that only 13 percent of the 2,410 incidents observed involved the likelihood of encountering someone who was engaged in or accused of a criminal offense. Further, on only 30 of the 580 incidents in which the police engaged in control-seeking behavior did a civilian push, grab or strike the officer or reach for a weapon. In his study of police in St. Louis County, Sherman (1975) found that the number of

violent or potentially violent situations was so low that he wasn't able to arrive at any conclusions about the ability of women to handle such incidents.

There are some Canadian data available on the subject of violence and the police, though it is not as good as that provided by the U.S. studies. In his study of RCMP officers, Laronde found that 76 percent of males and 52 percent of females had needed to use force during the course of their duties. 62 percent of the males and 29 percent of the females reported having been assaulted, though only 10 percent of the males and 14 percent of the females reported having been injured. Because Laronde did not look at violence over a particular period of time but asked if respondents had ever been assaulted, injured, etc. and because there is no way of knowing if the assignments of males and females were similar, it is difficult to know what conclusions can be drawn from his research. A similar criticism can be made of the survey of Alberta police done by Whetstone. In this study, 46 percent of the female officers reported that someone had assaulted them, or attempted to assault them, while they were on duty. Again, no time period is specified so that a rate of assault cannot be calculated.

While the evidence does suggest that policing is more service-oriented then is commonly believed, it is also clear that the police do face the threat of being attacked or of having to use physical force in order to control a situation. Further, even if they are

rare, such incidents are obviously of concern to the individual officers involved and to the public. Given this fact, it is important to determine how well women can respond to such situations and to see if they are more likely than men to be injured in the course of their duties.

In the Washington study, Bloch and Anderson found that citizens who had been involved in incidents where the police had handled dangerous or angry people rated men and women about the same in their ability to handle threatening behavior. The same conclusion was reached by the researchers who observed each of these encounters. Women did not miss any more days of work because of job-related injuries than did the comparison group of male officers though they did have more days on light duty as a result of injuries.

Similar results were obtained in the New York City study. Sichel and her colleagues found that the same techniques, including physical contact, were used by men and women in attempting to gain control of the situation. They also found that citizens did not appear to expect women to be less physically capable than men. "In the handful of incidents during which civilians requested physical assistance from subject officers or offered to help them, male and female subject officers were about equally likely to be asked for or to be offered the help" (1978:56). They also found that the partners of females were no more likely to request back-up help from other officers or assistance from citizens than were officers who had male partners. Another of their findings which is relevant to this point

concerns the willingness of females to assist other police officers in restraining violent citizens. They found that females were as likely as males to participate in restraining violent civilians, and were as likely as males to stay with the incident until it had been resolved.

In a study of injury among British police, Stobart (1972) found that women were less likely than males to be placed sick as the result of an assault. In Liverpool and South Wales, only one such case was reported for women in each force. In London, the rate of such injury for women officers was 17.7 per thousand which was lower than the overall department rate. Since the study does not have data on performance while on patrol duties, we don't know whether or not these lower injury rates are due to a reluctance of women to get involved in potentially violent confrontations. However, Stobart suggests that this is not the case. He found that 6 of the 11 women injured in London had been hurt in police stations. He feels that these injuries may have been the result of inadequate assistance being given when women were called upon to search and restrain female prisoners, or were received while females were involved in helping other officers who were having difficulty restraining prisoners. Sullivan (1979) discusses more recent data on assaults on women in British departments, but unfortunately her data are not presented in a form that allows us to tell if the rate of assault has increased since integration. However, she does note that over two-thirds of the assaults were committed by women prisoners which suggests that the assignment of women to beat duties has not led to a very large increase in assaults.

A related issue is that of how the presence of a female officer will affect the behavior of her male partner. One study which has looked at this issue was carried out by Johns and Barclay (1979) who carried out an experiment examining the effect which female partners had on the shooting responses of male police officers. Using the training film "Shoot/Don't Shoot II" as a stimulus, they had state police troopers fire in the presence of either a male or a female partner. They found that the presence of a female partner had a positive effect as their male partners "more often responded to dangerous situations appropriately by more clearly perceiving danger and acting on it than did troopers with male partners" (1979:336). They attribute this more effective performance to the likelihood that the emotional arousal caused by the presence of the female "heightens aggressive reactivity and the ability to respond correctly to aggressive cues presented" (1979:336). It is not known how generalizable these results are since the experiment did not involve real-life events and since the troopers had not previously worked with a female partner, but they do suggest that the presence of a female partner may prove to be an asset rather than a liability in a life-threatening situation.

While the available evidence suggests that female police officers have proven themselves able to deal with threatening situations, it is equally clear that male officers do not see women as being competent to handle this aspect of police work. This lack of confidence in the ability of female officers to handle violent situations may lead to problems for both groups. The tendency of male

officers to be protective of their female colleagues is a hindrance to the performance of the men, and has been used as a reason for justifying a policy of not hiring women for patrol duty (Prindiville, 1975:28). Such protective practices toward female officers may lead to supervisors giving the women special treatment by excusing them from certain kinds of duty. This was a problem noted in a study of the Pennsylvania State Police cited by Charles and Parsons (1978). Such practices can create or reinforce negative attitudes on the part of the male officers (Melchionne, 1974:344). Protective practices will also reinforce the image that women are the "weaker sex" by conveying the idea that women require such extra coverage. Further, if female officers are given only selected patrol tasks, they will not gain experience in the full range of duties required of a proficient patrol officer. Without this experience, female officers may not be able to cope with a violent situation when they are finally confronted with one. Finally, overprotective practices will deny female officers the opportunity to prove their ability in hazardous or violent situations (Kruckenberg, 1974:35).

## Attitudes of Women Officers

Not surprisingly, female officers do not agree with most of the criticisms made of them by males. For example, the female RCMP officers studied by Laronde were very positive about their work. All but one of the females felt that they had been accepted by the other members of their Section or Detachment and almost all felt they had been accepted by the public. None of them felt that the Force had

suffered because of the acceptance of women. Further, only 19 percent felt that women viewed police work as only a temporary position rather than as a career. While only 19 percent of the males felt that females were capable of doing all duties in the RCMP, 86 percent of the females felt that women could handle all such duties.

Whetstone's Alberta study also shows that women view their role in police work much more favorably than do men. 87 percent of the female respondents felt they responded to public demands as well as their male peers did and 80 percent felt they were as successful as males in solving crimes. The women considered themselves particularly effective in car patrol, general investigation, juvenile work, and traffic enforcement and least effective in drug enforcement.

Similar data were also obtained in the Washington study. Women felt that they were just as skilled at handling patrol as were male officers. However, the women did share the view of the men that males were better at handling disorderly males, though they were less likely than male respondents to have this view. On the other hand, both groups agree that women were better in handling rape victims than were males. For most kinds of skills the women saw little difference between the two groups.

An attitude survey was taken as part of the California Highway Patrol evaluation. This survey also showed that males had a much more negative attitude toward women in law enforcement than did the females themselves. For instance, while most of the males felt

that physical strength is important for a traffic officer, the women did not regard it as being as important as other characteristics such as common sense and alertness. Their view was that potentially violent situations could be handled without having to resort to violence themselves. However, almost all of the females surveyed felt that they were strong enough to handle most situations they would face on the job. These findings are similar to those from the Newton study. The Newton women rated themselves higher on all measures than did the male respondents.

Attitudes of Supervisors

Generally, the attitudes of supervisors toward female officers have been more favorable than the attitudes of the rank and file. This has been reflected in the favorable performance assessments which women have received in most of the departments studied. The attitudes of supervisors have been most thoroughly studied by Bloch and Anderson. Police officials in Washington were more likely than patrolmen to feel that women were as effective as men on patrol duties, though there was agreement with the male officers that women did not do as well in handling violent situations. Further, while the attitudes of patrolmen did not change over the course of the research, the attitudes of police officials did become more favorable over time.

Despite this apparent acceptance of female patrol officers by police officials there is little doubt that the increased number of women in police ranks has created a number of supervisory problems.

First of all, many male supervisors have had little experience with women subordinates and do not feel comfortable working with them. As a result, the literature reflects an uncertainty as to how to deal with women. Some supervisors have been accused of favoring women, or of allowing women to manipulate them. On the other hand, supervisors have often discriminated against women, particularly with regard to the type of assignment given. For instance, Milton cites the case of a female officer who had gained a wide variety of police experience on the Women's Bureau before being assigned to a scientific unit. Her new supervisor placed her in a clerical position and wouldn't allow her to search crime scenes even though she had done this job in her previous assignment. His reason for this was that "he does not think that a woman should be out alone after dark" (1972:23).

Based on her experience with women in the military and in the RCMP, Toole (1975) has noted the importance of avoiding any special treatment or showing any favoritism toward women. She goes on to say that:

> "A double standard on the basis of sex in any form will not promote acceptance. It has been my experience in the military, that male supervisors are more reluctant to become involved in the counselling and disciplining of women. If integration is to be successful, supervisors must show leadership and fair-mindedness in their treatment of subordinates-regardless of sex--expecting the same standards of job performance as well as adherence to high standards of deportment and dress" (1975:19).

If supervisors exclude women from some patrol tasks, the resentment of

male officers will be increased and the women will not get the patrol experience which they need in order to become effective police officers. Melchionne (1974) also points out that practices which are intended to protect female officers serve to increase the image of "weakness" which male officers often hold.

A related issue is that of the assignment of women to special units such as the drug squad. Supervisors in such units are often anxious to have women assigned to them because they do very well in surveillance work. The public does not expect a female to be a police officer, so suspects are less wary of them. Also, a male/female team is not as likely to create suspicion in some contexts as two males, so surveillance is more likely to be effective. Problems have arisen in some forces when relatively inexperienced females have been assigned to such units. Often such assignments are felt to be desirable ones and male officers have complained that women are transferred to such units without meeting the normal length of service requirement. This leads to resentment against the women, who are seen as being favored by senior management. Such a transfer may be a negative thing for the female as well. Some supervisors of such units have indicated that while the women do well in surveillance, they don't have the general duty experience required to handle investigations on their own. Thus within their specialized unit they are unable to carry out the same jobs as the more experienced males. For these reasons, the temptation to transfer very junior women to such units should probably be resisted. If women are to establish credibility with their male colleagues, the same criteria for such transfers should apply to both sexes.

While showing favoritism can create problems, so can its opposite. The practice of discriminating against women in terms of assignment, such as giving women clerical tasks rather than assigning them to patrol duties, is one which also has negative consequences for the morale of female officers. In this regard, Conrad and Glorioso found that "if the women are not treated as professionals, they will develop nonproductive, negative attitudes toward their work, and this in turn will rub off on their male associates" (1975:61).

A second problem supervisors have had to meet is that of relationships between male and female officers.[7] Police officers who work in a car together for eight hours a day, and who depend upon one another in a wide variety of ways often develop strong personal ties. Bouza expresses this well when he says that "A platonic but terrifically intense, relationship is forged on the crucible of shared danger, as well as long and soul-revealing moments spent together" (1975:6). This kind of relationship is probably a good thing in terms of effective policing, but it can cause problems when men and women work together as partners and the relationship becomes more than platonic. This can lead to emotions interfering with work and to problems with the respective officers' home lives if they are married. While such problems are common in a number of other occupations, they are new to police work and are one reason why the increased presence of females has been resisted.

## Community Attitudes

Community acceptance and cooperation is an important goal

for any police department, and public acceptance of female officers has been a major concern of police administrators. Many officials have felt the public would simply not accept women carrying out patrol duties. However, the available research indicated that community response has been very favorable to women on patrol.

Citizens who had received service from both male and female officers were surveyed in the St. Louis study, and it was found that the public felt women could handle service and domestic calls better than men. Sherman also found that the public perceived that women officers were more sensitive and more responsive to the needs of the public than were men. The citizens were equally satisfied with the manner in which male and female officers handled calls, and felt safe when officers of either sex responded to a call.

The Washington study also found a high degree of community acceptance of women on patrol. Bloch and Anderson concluded that "Citizens of the District of Columbia, regardless of their race or sex, were more likely to support the concept of policewomen on patrol than to oppose it" (1974:6). There was an indication that attitudes were more favorable to women officers among those who had seen them in action. This view is reinforced by the finding that citizens who had received assistance from police officers reported a high degree of satisfaction with the work of both male and female officers. As noted earlier, both community leaders and contacted citizens in Newton were very positive in their assessment of the ability of female officers.

The New York study also found positive citizen reaction to female officers. While attitudes toward both sexes were quite favorable, reaction toward females was more positive on each of the 15 attitude items used. Sichel et al. do not know why these more favorable attitudes existed, but feel that it may have been because of minor differences in style of patrol.

In the California Highway Patrol study (1976), public surveys were taken just before women officers entered the field and again one year later. On the first study, members of the public indicated that they felt that women would be only slightly less capable than men as traffic officers. Female members of the public rated women slightly higher than did males. In terms of specific tasks, women were seen to be most effective in jobs such as issuing traffic citations, appearing in court, and investigating accidents and were rated lowest in making felony arrests, subduing combative persons, and doing heavy lifting or carrying.

For the second survey, the attitude survey was combined with a performance evaluation survey. Questionnaires were given to the public by female officers, male officers from the same course as the females, and an additional comparison group of experienced male officers in the course of their contact with the public. The public were asked to rate the performance of the officer who had contacted them as well as to answer the attitude questions used in the previous survey. The public rated the performance of the females about the same as they

did the male officers. While the experienced males were rated highest by the public, the female officers were rated ahead of the male officers with whom they had trained. The results of the attitude part of the survey were slightly more negative than in the previous survey. However, members of the public who had had some contact with female officers rated them much more highly than did those who had not had such contact. As the report notes, this suggests that "members of the public were favorably impressed by the performance of female Traffic Officers when observed firsthand" (CHP, 1976:53).

A survey carried out in Illinois concerning citizen attitudes toward female officers also found that the public were quite supportive of the idea of expanding the police roles open to women (Kerber, et al. 1977). Eighty-four percent of the respondents felt that both men and women should be hired by police departments in order to improve the quality of service offered. Respondents indicated that they felt male and female officers were equally competent in eight of thirteen categories of police work. The major concern of the citizens surveyed was in the area of potentially violent police roles. Respondents felt that males would perform these duties better than would females. On the other hand, it was felt that female officers could handle jobs such as interviewing rape victims better than males. Given the results of the studies discussed here, it would appear that fears of a negative public response to increasing the number of women in police departments and expanding the role they play are groundless.[8]

## FOOTNOTES

1. The police are not alone in opposing the movement of women into formerly all-male occupations. In a speech in which he announced an expanded role for women in the Armed Forces, a former Minister of National Defense noted that "Male traditions ... are the principal obstacles facing women in the Armed Forces" (Danson, 1979). By this he meant that while women may be able to perform combat roles as well as men, the fact that the men may not accept them may seriously hinder the performance of combat troops and reduce the effectiveness of the unit. Similar objections have also been noted in a wide variety of occupations dominated by one sex.

2. Bloch and Anderson do not specify whether or not any of the male respondents surveyed from experimental districts had actually worked with women.

3. As part of this review one of the authors informally interviewed about 20 male police officers from a Canadian city police department. One of the most striking impressions gained from these interviews was that many of the male officers did not take women police seriously. Many agreed with one officer's comment that "working with a woman is like doing the job alone".

4. Wilson (1970) has reported that similar views were expressed by American police when black officers were recruited. They were afraid this would lower the status of the force in the eyes of the public.

5. One interesting point which can be made here is that the objections of many police officials to employing women as patrol officers because of the risk of injury is at least partly contradicted by the views expressed by the same officials regarding the kinds of jobs which women handle well. Kruckenberg carried out a survey of U.S. police departments to which 62 chiefs of police responded. Nine of the chiefs felt that women were more competent than men in handling family dispute calls, while none ranked men higher than women in this area. She continues "The listing of women being believed to be more competent in handling family crisis situations is interesting because family disturbances are, by their very nature, generally violent. One out of every five policemen killed are killed in a family disturbance" (1974:29).

6. Data collected by Burnham are instructive in this regard. To support his view that policing is not an especially dangerous job, he cites the following statistics: In New York City, "during the first nine months of 1966 firemen had three times more injuries and sanitation men four times more injuries

than policemen. And in terms of the number of days lost for each injury, the injuries suffered by the men of the fire and sanitation departments appeared considerably more serious than those suffered by the police" (Burnham, 1970:177). In fact, the death rate for policing is relatively small compared to many other occupations. "Underground mining is almost three times as dangerous as policing, construction work is about one and one-half times as dangerous" (Horne, 1975:65).

7. Much of the opposition to the expansion of the role women play in policing can be summed up in a widely-cited statement by the Dallas Chief of Police who has been quoted as saying "If you put two women together [in a squad car] they fight. If you put a male and a female together, they fornicate" (Milton, 1978:197).

8. No Canadian data on public attitudes toward female police appears to be available. However, one study done of attitudes toward women in the military suggest at least some degree of acceptance of the idea of women getting involved in traditionally male occupations. In this poll, it was found that a slight majority of the public favored women serving on ships and aircraft while a slight majority opposed their serving as combat soldiers (Danson, 1979).

# CHAPTER 4

## DO WOMEN HAVE A DIFFERENT STYLE OF POLICING?

While many people, particularly police officers, have been critical of the trend toward expanding the role of female police, other observers have welcomed such a move. They have suggested that women will bring a new dimension to policing. Women are assumed to be less aggressive and "more likely to rely on their tact and ingenuity in confrontations. They can cool, defuse, and de-escalate many heated situations" (Bouza, 1975:7). Some, like Sherman (1973), feel that this will have a profound impact on police departments. He suggests that women will precipitate less violence because their pattern of interaction with citizens will be different from that of male officers. This reduction in the amount of violence involving the police will in turn, improve the image the public has of the police. Sherman suggests that men will learn that they can accomplish their goals more effectively by reducing the amount of violence which they use, and that this will lead to a change in the style of policing used by men.

As evidence to support this view, Sherman uses examples of effective performance of women in a number of different occupations. The first of these involved the employment of female security guards in a large housing project, Pruitt-Igoe, which had an extremely high crime rate. The women guards were very effective at reducing violence, at least in part, Sherman feels, because the presence of a women had a

calming effect during violent or potentially violent situations.[1] In another example, actors engaged in role-playing for a security guard training program found that they could not act in as hostile a manner toward the women as they did toward the male trainees. Horne (1975) also notes that women have worked for many years as nurses and aides in mental institutions, and suggests that they have a calming effect on disturbed inmates.

The hope, then, is that the assignment of women to patrol duties will alter the image of the 'tough cop' and make the image more of a social service one. Not everyone sees this as a positive step. For instance, many male officers feel that this represents a degradation of the traditionally masculine image of policing which they feel is necessary if they are to be effective. The question of which style is better is still an open one, but we can look at the available evidence to see if the style of policing adopted by women is different from that used by men.

The Washington study was the first to look at differences in styles of policing. On the whole, the similarities between men and women in this study were more apparent that the differences. For example, the women got about the same results when handling angry or violent citizens as did the males. Also, both groups showed similar levels of respect and similar general attitudes toward civilians. The major difference between the two groups was that women were less likely to make arrests and to give traffic citations. While there

were too few violent incidents involving officers of either sex to make any firm conclusions, Bloch and Anderson do suggest that increasing the number of women in a department may change its style of policing. They conclude that "The presence of women may stimulate increased attention to ways of avoiding violence and cooling violent situations without resorting to the use of force" (1974:4).

The second study which dealt with this issue was Sherman's research on St. Louis County police. As was the case with the Washington study, no firm conclusions could be drawn about how females would deal with violence because of the scarcity of such incidents. However, Sherman felt that women may be more effective in reducing violence because of their ability to prevent potentially threatening situations from escalating. Some further support for this was found in the New York study conducted by the Urban Institute. In this study it was found that while officers of both sexes began encounters with civilians in a similar fashion, the men were more likely to become aggressive during the course of the encounter than were the women, who were more likely to adopt a cordial manner. During these encounters, civilians tended to act in a friendlier fashion toward the female officers (reported in Sichel, et al., 1978). On the other hand, the Denver researchers found no difference in the effect which male and female officers had on the attitudes of either spectators or the citizens involved in observed incidents, nor on the levels of violence and tension at an incident.

Because of the large number of incidents which their research team was able to observe, Sichel and her colleagues have provided us with the best data available on this issue. In contrast to the studies discussed earlier, their research did "not support the proposition that female officers are more likely than male officers to be a calming influence on distraught citizens" (1978:43), although they did find that citizens felt the women were more competent, respectful and pleasant than the males. As noted earlier, the control-seeking techniques used by males and females were almost identical, and no differences were observed in the likelihood of using physical contact to gain control of a situation. While the women were less likely to make arrests and to seek control, these differences were not great enough to suggest that significant differences in policing style would result from the employment of more female officers.

While the research discussed here is rather inconclusive, there is some evidence from a different type of study which suggests that altering the image which the public and the police themselves have of the police role may be effective in changing patterns of interaction between police and citizens. This study was an evaluation of a change in the dress of police officers which was carried out in Menlo Park (Tenzel, et al., 1976). In this city, the standard police uniform was replaced with a blazer and slacks. Department officials felt that the uniform contributed symbolically to the maintenance of a distorted image of the police role. It was felt that this role image alienated the police from the community they were serving.

Researchers found that after the change, the police changed their role definition to one of a "professional public service officer" and members of the department began to be more concerned with the public service duties which take up most of the officers' time in every department. The change appeared to affect the public as well. Assaults on police officers fell by 30 percent during the first 18 months of the experiment, and the number of injuries resulting from arrest was reduced by one-half. There also appeared to be an increase in the degree to which the public expressed respect for the police. The researchers concluded that "aggression can be dramatically reduced by an alteration of the psychological symbols surrounding the police role" (1976:27).

Many advocates of an increased presence for women police were hopeful that the use of women on patrol would result in such a change in the symbolic role of the police. This hope was largely based on the traditional idea that women are more gentle and less aggressive than are men. The research results do not provide clear and consistent support for the view that the presence of female officers will result in a change in police behavior. If police departments view the reduction in aggression and a more favorable public image as a desirable goal, it appears as though just introducing women into the department without changing other aspects of the system may not lead to significant changes.[2]

## FOOTNOTES

1. While this explanation is a plausible one, the fact that the female guards represented a new phenomenon might also have been responsible for their success in reducing violence. The test of this hypothesis would be to see if the effects persist. Unfortunately, this cannot be done in the Pruitt-Igoe project which was torn down.

2. Bell (1980) cites a study by Maglino which found that MMPI profiles of male and female officers were similar. If the men and women who are attracted to policing have similar personalities, similarities in style of policing are to be expected.

# CHAPTER 5

## WOMEN AS A MINORITY

If one is trying to undertstand the behavior of female police officers, one factor which must be discussed is their status as a minority on the department. In Canada, in 1980, women made up about 2.2 percent of the strength of all municipal departments and did not exceed 6.5 percent of the strength of any single department. Obviously, they are in a distinct minority position. Kanter (1977) has pointed out the importance of ratios in understanding the behavior of minority group members. Police departments fit into her category of skewed organizations, in which the proportion of the minority group does not exceed 15 percent of the total membership of an organization or of a particular segment of the organization. According to Kanter, it is often misleading to draw conclusions about "women's behavior" or "male attitudes" from such situations, since the particular structure involved may have more of an influence on the behavior of members of both the dominant and token[1] groups than any enduring characteristics of the individuals involved. Women have a master status--their sex--which is lower than that of the males who are the situational dominants. As a result, they are in a position where they are treated as representatives of their ascribed category rather than as individuals.

There are serious consequences of the proportional rarity of tokens such as female police officers which may lead to problems in

adjusting to such a work role. Kanter has suggested that three sources of difficulty are visibility, polarization and assimilation. Looking at visibility first of all, women officers are relatively rare. As a result, Prindiville reported that "without exception the women feel they are highly visible, closely watched and judged as a group. They express great concern about the effect of these factors on their individual and collective features" (1975:6). The women feel that because of their visibility they are always on display and that their individual performance will affect the perception that others have of the performance of women as a group. This feeling of living under constant scrutiny can have serious consequences for the way in which they carry out their work. "Knowing that they are being observed by at least some men who oppose their new functions and who are on the lookout for mistakes can hardly enhance their performance" (Prindiville, 1975:25). They know that if a woman does make a mistake, or if a woman proves to be unsuitable for police work, the image of the rest of the women on the force will suffer as a result.

Kizziah and Morris (1977) found that this was true in Newton as well. The women felt that if one woman made a mistake or was criticized by other members of the department, the other women were included in the criticism. The reverse was true when women did prove themselves. Some women did gain acceptance as individuals from their male peers, but this acceptance was not generalized to other women. Thus all women received the blame for a mistake, while only individuals received credit for good performance. As Kanter suggests, the

visibility of members of a token minority creates a good deal of performance pressure on them, since there is little room for error and since the consequences of an error are so great.[2]

The second consequence Kanter discusses is polarization. This refers to a process in which members of the dominant group exaggerate the differences between themselves and the token. Along with this goes the complementary process of stressing the commonalities of members of the dominant group with one another. An example of this process is discussed by Maguire (n.d.) in his study of RCMP members in British Columbia. He interviewed a number of junior constables about the qualities of some of the above average male members of their detachment. He found that they attributed to these individuals such traits as job knowledge, leadership ability, performance of duties, and so on. However, when the same members were asked about the performance of female detachment members they mainly responded in terms of the physical capabilities of the females. For instance a number of the constables spoke very highly of a female officer who was very aggressive and who had been injured in fights several times, even though another female constable in the same detachment was obviously a much better all-around police officer. In this case, the men were using different criteria to judge women than to judge men, and were using these criteria to exaggerate the differences between male and female officers. Maguire concludes that as a result of their limited numbers, "female members find themselves being evaluated by the informal peer group on totally male standards that they themselves might

not subscribe to and in many cases because of their physical capabilities or ingrained formal upbringing cannot meet" (n.d.:8).

As a result of polarization, the tokens tend to be isolated from other police officers. For example, McGeorge and Wolfe surveyed male and female officers and found that while most men felt very close to their fellow officers, women tended to be much more ambiguous about relationships with other police. This social isolation can be very limiting in a job like policing, because much of the learning that takes place relating to the task of policing occurs in the context of informal group socialization. A number of female officers, among them Roberts (1977), say that women are never permitted to become "one of the boys" and are excluded from many of the all-male activities in which police officers are involved.

The third consequence of proportional rarity discussed by Kanter is assimilation. By this she is referring to the process by which members of the dominant group distort the characteristics of the token to fit the stereotype or generalization which the dominants hold. If members of the minority represent only a small proportion of the group, it is unlikely that they will have any success in altering this stereotyped image. This can result in role entrapment for the token. Again the experience of women in policing provides numerous examples of this process. Women for years were excluded from full participation in the various functions of police departments and often assigned inside jobs because of the stereotyped view that women could

not survive on the streets and would be assaulted or raped if they were to be assigned to patrol duties. As a result of these policies, women were not hired in any great numbers and were not promoted in most police departments. Often they were not even given the same training or pay as the males. Such stereotypes still exist and still serve to limit the progress made by women in policing.

Other research on the effect of proportions extends the implications of Kanter's formulation to other aspects of police work. For instance, Tuddenham et al. (1980) found in a laboratory study that the amount of yielding to a distorted norm varied according to the sex composition of the group. The amount of yielding by men varied directly with the proportion of men in the group, while the amount of yielding by women varied inversely with the proportion of women in the group. This means that a man was less likely to yield in the presence of women than in the presence of other men, while a woman was more likely to yield when in the presence of members of the opposite sex. This indicates that when the master status of the token is lower than that of the dominant, the token will tend to yield when in the company of members of the dominant group. This finding might explain the tendency of women to defer to their partners when patrolling with males even when the males were junior (Sichel, et al., 1978). This suggests that the lack of aggressiveness of women patrol officers may be due to their maintenance of traditional role behavior (a condition which is often reinforced by the male partner) rather than just indicating deference to a more experienced officer. The New York study

also found that of the performance disparities between men and women were substantially reduced when women were assigned other women as partners. Such situationally engendered performance differences may be reduced by changes in training and deployment practices which will be discussed later in this section.

An additional problem relating to the small numbers of women in police work applies to police agencies such as the RCMP which operate in small, rural settings. Maguire found that "the most significant problem faced by female members of the Force is that their numbers at any given detachment are so small when compared to that of the males" (n.d.:6). One consequence of this is that females are being evaluated according to informal peer standards developed by males which, as noted above, are mainly based on how aggressive females are in situations which are viewed as requiring the use of force. Another consequence is that females are not only isolated occupationally by virtue of their exclusion from the male police subculture, but are isolated socially as well. Often female police feel they are marginal in two settings.[3] Because of their sex, they don't quite fit in at work, and because of their occupation they often have difficulty in establishing social relationships outside the work environment. Roberts (1977), who is a female police officer in an urban department, reports that she has found it difficult to establish relationships with people outside the department. She found the problem particularly acute when it involved relationships with civilian men, whom she felt were wary of female police officers. If this

is a problem in an urban area, it is even more serious in smaller communities where female officers are more easily identifiable. Maguire found that most of the female members of the RCMP whom he interviewed felt that civilian males were very reluctant to mix with them socially. Further, they had little in common with most of the females in the community, including the wives of the male officers, and so were more or less left on their own. As a result "what emerges is something of a 'Catch 22' situation. On the one hand, the female member is aware that many of her male peers do not fully accept her and she, in turn, has difficulty in accepting many of the informal standards set by them for her. Common sense should dictate that the policewoman seek a social life away from her work environment in order to rejuvenate herself, but she has acquired a new sense of values and a different perspective of the world around her that prevents her from taking such positive action" (Maguire, n.d.:18).

Though most departments have not had attrition problems with female officers, all of these factors could help to explain the higher attrition rate of female officers in those forces where attrition has been high. The stress of being a member of a visible minority group, the isolation both on and off the job, and the lack of female role models can easily lead to dissatisfaction with the job, and ultimately to the loss of a trained and experienced police officer. There are a number of steps which police administration might take to alleviate some of these problems.

First of all, the training process can be modified to facilitate the integration of female officers. Horne (1975) suggests that

sexually mixed courses may serve to reduce sexist attitudes of officers because of the shared experience of training.[5] The importance of having trainers who are receptive to the increased utilization of women in all areas of policing has also been noted. Whetstone found that "Policewomen feel that the selection of open-minded trainers is a requirement to their success" (1978:4).

Changes might also be made in the content of training courses. Conrad and Glorioso (1975) have suggested that group meetings be held involving male and female trainees. These meetings would be used to identify and discuss the negative feelings which males have toward women in policing, to educate women as to the difficulties they will face as police officers, and to try to communicate to recruits the positive aspects of expanding the role of women in the department. The provision of sessions on women in policing in in-service training courses might prove to be useful in increasing the acceptance of women among experienced officers.

An additional recommendation which has been made by a number of researchers is to ensure that female recruits have adequate role models. This can be accomplished by assigning women to duty as academy instructors and field training officers. Since male officers typically do not provide much support for the achievement of women, female role models are particularly important to the female recruit. Such role models show the female recruit by example that it is possible to succeed in a male-dominated profession and thus increase the

confidence with which she carries out her job. Assignment of female academy instructors to teach traditionally male tasks such as firearms, self-defense, and driving might be one way to alter the attitudes of male recruits and also to provide role models for female recruits.

While no research has been done which has looked at the impact of female role models in the police context, some studies have been done in other areas which support the position taken here. For example, a study by Seater and Ridgeway (1976) found that college women who had found faculty women with whom to identify had higher educational aspirations than those women who lacked this kind of support. If this finding held true for female police officers as well, the level of aspiration and commitment to a career in policing among women might increase.

A final recommendation involves the manner in which female officers are assigned to areas within a department. Typically, the women are scattered all over a city (or a Division in the case of the RCMP) and may not be working with any other female officers. The literature on the impact of proportions on behavior suggests that this is the worst method of deployment. In police departments, with small numbers of women in any given area, women are socialized into doing things in typically male ways. Thus, women may indeed bring a new style to policing as some proponents have suggested, but under present circumstances any attempt at developing a new style is likely

to be met with resistance from the male majority. Those who wish to be successful must meet the expectations and standards of their male colleagues. Sherman has observed this process in St. Louis County where he found that "rather than women changing the police system, the police system may be changing the women" (1975:437). The women Sherman studied had initially tried to maintain their individual styles of policing, but they could not resist the peer-group pressures to change.[6]

If women are present in only small numbers it is easier for supervisors to favor them or to discriminate against them. If a large number of women were to be assigned to a particular supervisor, that supervisor could not afford to show favoritism or discrimination toward women since this would seriously reduce the effectiveness of his unit. Thus, under present conditions a sergeant may be able to excuse one or two women from certain kinds of activities or turn them into highly-paid clerks or chauffeurs. However, he simply could not do this to 20 percent of his subordinates without seriously impairing the performance of the unit. With a higher concentration of females, they would be less isolated both on and off the job, and may perform their duties more effectively.

Kanter postulates that there are "tipping points" in terms of proportions which enable members of the minority to counteract the disadvantages of being isolated. Little research has been done in this area, but it is known that even in small groups, two of a kind are not sufficient to overcome the effects of token status. Kanter suggests

that 20 percent may be sufficient to enable members of the minority group to develop supportive alliances. Research on women in the U.S. military has shown that women don't integrate well unless they make up from 10 to 25 percent of a unit's strength. Further research must be done in this area in order to develop ways of improving the work situation faced by members of minority groups.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Kanter defines tokens as individuals who are "identified by ascribed characteristics (master statuses such as sex, race, religion, ethnic group, age, etc.) or other characteristics that carry with them a set of assumptions about culture, status, and behavior highly salient for majority category members" (1977:968).

2. A recent incident in Detroit illustrates this point. Two female officers were charged with cowardice after an incident in which they were alleged to have failed to assist a male officer who was being assaulted. Even though the officers were cleared of the cowardice charges, the incident has hurt the image of all women in the department. A Deputy Chief remarked that "If a woman officer went out tomorrow and saved six male officers' lives, the men would call her a superwoman, but it wouldn't change many attitudes" (Time, 1980:46).

3. This problem must be faced by other police officers as well. For instance, in the U.S. black police officers are often not accepted by other police officers because of their race, and may also be shunned by members of the black community because they are perceived as representatives of the white power structure.

4. Despite the pressures on female police officers, there is some evidence that their job satisfaction remains high. In a study of male and female officers from the Reginal Police Department, Hylton (1980) found few significant differences in job satisfaction between the sexes. Those differences which did exist were as likely to show higher levels of satisfaction for females as they were for males. A study of females in the RCMP was carried out by Berube (1980). While she did not compare male and female officers, she did find that most of the female constables surveyed did feel that the RCMP had lived up to their expectations and that almost 80 percent had positive feelings about the future of women in policing. Also, an Occupational Attitude Survey carried out annually by the RCMP Staffing and Personnel Branch shows no significant differences in job satisfaction between male and female respondents with equivalent years of experience.

5. This has implications for the RCMP who have moved from mixed to same-sex troops. While the women did well in mixed troops and prefer this method of training, it was felt that mixing troops caused a decline in male performance (particularly in the area of physical training) and to a loss of "troop spirit" for males.

6. One of the findings of the uniform experiment conducted in Menlo Park provides an illustration of the way in which a minority group can resist external pressure to change if their numbers of sufficiently large. In this study, members of the Menlo Park Department

were taken out of the traditional uniform and given blazers and slacks. Tenzel et al. report a reaction from other police officers which is much like the reaction received by women officers: "Almost immediately they became targets for derision by members of other police forces. They complained of being harassed while attending class with police from other forces..." (1976:22). In the face of the opposition, group cohesiveness began to build among members of the Menlo Park Development, and two years after the change, the department had very high morale and had developed a style of policing which was quite different from that of other departments.

# CHAPTER 6

# SELECTION AND TRAINING

## Selection

Selection of applicants is an important area in that selection standards will determine the type of person chosen to perform police work and ultimately will determine the kind of police department that serves the community. A number of issues regarding the selection process are relevant to a discussion of women in policing. The major problems facing women in this area are that selection standards include height or physical requirements which can't be met by most women, or may involve quotas under which only a limited number of women will be hired regardless of their qualifications. On the other hand, if separate standards are maintained for women, they will be seen to have a different status in the department than do males. Reduced standards might serve to contribute to the negative feelings many male officers have toward their female colleagues.

One of the major areas of controversy has been over the height requirement. Most departments have either set a height requirement for both sexes which is too high for most women applicants[1]--until recently, Ottawa required that both male and female applicants be 5'10" tall--or they have set a lower height requirement for females than for

males. Examination of selected Canadian departments (see Appendix 1) indicates that the latter course is the one most often followed.

As the lack of consistency between departments would indicate, there is considerable disagreement as to the importance of physical size in police work. The reason why size has been so important in recruiting police officers is related to the image of the police officer as a tough crime-fighter who is protected from harm only by physical ability. Given this perspective, it makes sense to hire the biggest and strongest personnel available. However, the research discussed earlier has raised some questions as to the accuracy of this image of police work.

A number of studies have been done in the U.S. which have looked at the relationship between height and police performance. These studies were done in response to court cases in which height requirements were challenged by members of minority groups and by women. The U.S. Office of Civil Rights set out guidelines which prohibited such requirements unless they could be proven to be job-related.

One of these studies was carried out by Swanson and Hale (1975). They looked at data from 13 municipal police agencies in the U.S. Southwest concerning the relationship between height and the likelihood of assault. They found that height was only weakly related to the likelihood of assault and, further, that taller officers were

slightly more likely to be assaulted than were shorter ones. They found no relationship between the height of the officer and the height of the assailant.

Guyot (1977) cites two other studies which have also looked at the importance of height in policing.[2] The first of these was done in Portland and found no significant difference in the height of officers who had been assaulted while on duty. The second study, which was done by White and Bloch of the Police Foundation, indicated that the height of a police officer was not related to the officer's performance or to the rate of assault. Another study which looked at the relationship between height and performance was the Philadelphia study. In the observational part of this study it was concluded that "overall performance is not a function of height for either male or female recruits" (Bartell Associates, n.d.:12).

The Washington study also looked at the relationship between height and performance. Bloch and Anderson found that "Generally speaking the taller an officer was, the more likely he or she was to be rated poorly on performance. The taller women were more likely to have been rated on the Chief's Survey as not suitable for retention in the department, and more likely to have comparatively poor average ratings on the Officials' Survey" (1974:60). They go on to report that tall men were rated lower by their superiors and were less likely to have received favourable comments from the public. Given this evidence it is not surprising that in almost every case brought before

the courts, police departments have been ordered to remove restrictive barriers such as height requirements (Kiernan and Cusick, 1977).[3]

A Board of Inquiry established to hear the case of Colfer v. Ottawa Board of Police Commissioners and Seguin reached a similar decision. It was decided that the height requirement of the Ottawa Police Department (5'10" for both males and females) was discriminatory and in contravention of The Ontario Human Rights Code. The Board stated that intent to discriminate was not a necessary factor in such a case and that once it had been demonstrated that a recruiting standard has a disproportionate impact on a particular group, the burden shifts to the employer to prove that the requirement is necessary to perform the job adequately. While there are relatively few Canadian departments which have not adjusted height requirements for female candidates, the principles behind this decision may also hold for other recruiting standards.[4]

Another area of controversy is that of pre-enrollment physical testing. In some departments, candidates must pass a rather rigorous test of strength, stamina, speed and coordination in order to be allowed into the department. The question can be raised as to whether such tests are actually performance-related or whether they are used as a screening device which has the effect of minimizing the number of successful female applicants. For example, The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department established performance-related physical agility criteria. In evaluating these criteria they found that four

of the six would eliminate a very high proportion of female applicants. For example, the six-foot wall climb would eliminate 2-3 percent of the males and 69-73 percent of the females; the 440 yard run would eliminate 4-5 percent of the males and 73-88 percent of the females; the 165 pound body transport would eliminate 6-7 percent of the males and 67-75 percent of the females; and the vehicle push would eliminate 6-7 percent of the males and 64-75 percent of the females (Osborn, 1976).

The legitimacy of such standards can be questioned on several grounds. First of all, there is the question of whether or not such standards really are performance-related. For example, Turner and Higgins (1977) carried out an analysis of the job of the police constable in the city of Vancouver in order to identify the dimensions essential for effective job performance and to establish an assessment program. They used a number of sources of data including observation, individual interviews, critical incident workshops, records of complaint and commendation, and a literature review. They then rated the resulting dimensions as to their importance. The dimensions which were rated most highly were such things as practical intelligence, integrity, problem confrontation, stress tolerance, ability to learn, initiative, and so on. The criterion of physical efficiency was found to be so unimportant that it was dropped from the final list of dimensions. Turner and Higgins are careful to point out that they do not feel physical efficiency should be dropped as a criterion for pre-employment screening. Although they do not give any reasons why it

should be retained, some observers feel that even though physical skills are not often required, the consequences of failure are serious in instances where such skills are needed. However, the Turner and Higgins study at least suggests that the criterion should not be given the weight assigned to it by some departments.[5]

While one might argue that a careful analysis of the police officer's job suggests that departments reduce their emphasis on the importance of physical factors in police selection, it is obvious that some level of physical efficiency is desirable. However, McGhee (1976) has suggested that such standards should be regarded as terminal standards rather than pre-employment standards. In other words, if it can be established that a police officer needs to be able to carry a 165 pound body, then officers should be trained to do this as part of their recruit course. Pre-employment screening should be done to determine that those individuals selected for training be capable of meeting such standards following a period of rigorous instruction and training.[6] This approach has been taken by a number of departments, including the RCMP, and appears to be working out successfully in that there is a low rate of failure due to inability to meet physical performance standards. According to Milton (1978), the women in the Washington department have had more trouble passing the test than have the men, but almost all are sucessful. All of the female recruits in Newton were able to pass a rigorous physical activity test prior to graduation. Such an approach is particularly desirable for women, because very often they perform below their physical capabilities due to their lack of athletic background and training. When

women can train as hard as men, sex differences in performance can be reduced substantially. The impact of training on the physical performance of police recruits was indicated by the California Highway Patrol study. Physical performance scores of female recruits increased from 44 percent of the male scores in the 4th week of training to 75 percent of the male scores by the 12th week of training. This suggests that a policy involving terminal rather than pre-enrollment physical standards might be more fair to women applicants.

The discussion here is not meant to imply that police departments should eliminate enrollment standards. However, the evaluation studies which have been carried out suggest that some of the traditional standards have excluded a large number of potentially good police officers. For example, the research clearly indicates that women do make capable patrol officers, yet for years they were excluded from police work by height and physical standards or by quotas. Thus it seems reasonable to suggest that the attempt be made to define performance-related standards, which would apply to both males and females, and which would ensure that the best potential officers would be hired. Kizziah and Morris (1977) suggest that physical strength may not be as important as training in skills that would enable an officer to use his/her body properly. If this is found to be the case, emphasis might be placed on teaching those skills in training, rather than using strength as a pre-employment screening measure.

One final issue related to the recruiting of female officers is that of effective advertising. If a department is seriously trying to promote the hiring of women, advertisements should be free of any sexual bias and should utilize recruiting techniques that will attract members of both sexes. Brochures or advertisements should make it clear that both men and women are eligible for the job of police officer and illustrations should depict officers of both sexes. Women should be given an indication of what the job entails - if women are assigned regularly to patrol duties, this fact should be made clear to potential applicants. One additional point which would apply to both male and female recruits is that pre-enrollment interviews should make the candidate aware of some of the problems of police work such as the unpleasant nature of some of the work, shift problems and so on.

One problem which several forces, including the California Highway Patrol and the New Jersey State Police, have encountered is that of high attrition rates during training. Of the first course of female troopers in New Jersey, 30 graduated and 74 dropped out during training. (Patterson, 1980). While a study of the training program has not yet been completed, one reason which was identified as a cause of attrition was that women tended to have unrealistic expectations of what police work entailed because their only knowledge of the job came from television programs. This suggests that it might be useful to provide an informational program for potential recruits in order to reduce subsequent attrition.

## Training

Until recently, it was common for departments to put women on duty with little or no prior training. Obviously, if women are to be given the same assignments as men, they should be given the same kind and amount of training. This is, in fact, what most major departments now provide for their female recruits. Results from a number of departments indicate that women typically do as well or better in training than the men. They tend to do less well than men in areas such as weapons training and self-defense training where specialized physical skills are required. For example, in his evaluation of the performance of women recruits in the Michigan State Police Training Academy Charles (1981) found that there were no differences between men and women in academic scores or in technical training scores, but that there were significant differences favouring the males in physical performance. Because of this, some departments have attempted to provide extra training in these areas for female recruits. Men typically are better prepared for this part of the curriculum than are women, so opportunity should be provided for women to make up for this lack of experience.[7] One force which is doing this is the California Highway Patrol. An evaluation of their Women Traffic Officer Project found that women had a higher injury rate during training and several resigned from the academy because they found the physical training too difficult.(California Highway patrol, 1976). As a result, the California Highway Patrol has decided to make academy physical training more individualized. (Craig, 1977).[8]

Horne (1980) has presented a number of suggestions related to physical training for female officers. He feels that both males and females should be given training in unarmed self-defense. Some agencies use boxing as a means of sensitizing recruits to giving and taking physical aggression. Since most suspects that the police deal with are male, female officers should do as least some of their self-defense training with male opponents. Horne also recommends that officers be given leverage-strength training for some of the physical tasks they might have to carry out, since this will compensate for the lower strength of females.

In looking at the performance of female officers, Martin found that policewomen who performed poorly expected to be treated deferentially and had difficulty responding when citizens were hostile or uncooperative. This led to poor performance because these women were "uncertain about their ability to assert and maintain control, [and] they attempt to avoid situations in which they must take control" (1980:178). This may explain the finding from New York City that women were less agressive in making arrests and traffic stops. As a possible remedy, Sichet et al suggest that women police be given assertiveness training similar to that given to female government officials.

Another area of concern which can likely be minimized by a proper training program is that of automobile accidents. In Sherman's St. Louis County study, the accident rate of the policewomen was considerably higher than that of the comparison men. Similar findings

have been reported for some other departments. It would appear that a possible reason for this is that women have had less driving experience than men. A solution for this problem would be for the department to offer a driving course as part of its recruit training. Such a policy has worked in Washington, D.C. Although the women took longer to qualify than did the men, women had slightly fewer accidents. While comparative accident rates are not available, the RCMP experience appears to support the utility of a driving course. While the women recruits had less driving background, they did well in the driving course because of a high degree of motivation (Laronde, n.d.).

We would suggest that departments consider providing extra help for females in these areas either during recruit training or before the formal training program begins. This does involve giving special treatment to women, but this should not cause problems if both sexes ultimately meet the same performance standard.[9] There are some biological differences between the sexes and there are also widespread sex-differentiated patterns of behavior. Both of these may affect the performance of females during recruit training. As Martin has noted "the policy which appears to be sex neutral in fact puts the burden for being different on the women" (1980:110). There is ample precedent for such treatment. For example, before francophones in the military begin courses such as pilot training, they are sent to language school to improve their English. In the case of both women police and francophone pilots, insisting that performance levels be met prior to enrollment would preclude or delay the admission of otherwise-acceptable applicants, and the lack of individualized programs might make the successful completion of training problematic.

## FOOTNOTES

1. As an example of how height requirements effectively keep most women out of police work, Craig (1977) claims that if the California Highway Patrol had retained its minimum height requirement of 5'8", less than three percent of California women in the appropriate age group would have been eligible to apply.

2. Guyot also discusses a study done in San Diego by Hoobler and McQueeney which did find significant relationships between height and citizen complaints, injuries, and auto accidents. However, the study did not control for the type of assignment. This made the results meaningless since height requirements for males had been gradually reduced over a period of years and older officers, who were more experienced and more likely to be in safer jobs, were significantly taller than younger officers.

3. Obviously, there comes a point at which height requirements become performance-related. For instance, automobiles and other equipment must be operated efficiently and an officer must be tall enough to be seen when directing traffic. However, the requirements set by many departments are far above those required for such duties.

4. In the case of Adler v. Toronto Metropolitan Board of Commissioners of Police and Adamson, which was heard at the same time

as Colfer, it was decided that different height standards for males and females did not discriminate against males who met the minimum required for females, but who were too short to qualify under the regulations for males. One might speculate that if such a case were to involve members of a racial or ethnic minority whose average height was less than that set in the recruiting standard, the decision would be different. If this were to happen, departments would have to look into the question of an empirically-based, job-related height standard. While a number of suggestions have been made as to the tasks which should be considered in developing such a standard, it is likely that at minimum a recruit will have to be of sufficient stature to comfortably drive a standard police cruiser car. The relevant dimension here would not necessarily be height, but rather an eye to buttocks measurement. The California Highway Patrol used the criteria of reaching the ground with both feet while on a motorcycle, backing a patrol car without undoing the seat belt, and visibility while directing traffic. All of these tasks could be adequately performed by someone 5'6" or over.

5. As was the case with height, physical ability standards may be vulnerable to challenge if they cannot be shown to be clearly job-related, and if they exclude a higher proportion of females than males. One approach which is not vulnerable to this criticism has been taken by the Ottawa Police Force. Working with the Department of Kinanthropology at the University of Ottawa, the

department developed physical profiles to use as a recruiting standard. For males, a profile was developed from a large group of police officers who were performing their job in a satisfactory fashion. Potential recruits are measured against this standard. For females, it was not possible to use serving members, since there were none in the correct age group. Therefore a profile was developed using female students from the University of Ottawa.

While many people (including the writers) feel uncomfortable with the use of different standards for males and females who are to perform the same job, such an approach at least has the advantage of meeting the requirements of human rights legislation. An alternate approach would be to set minimum requirements which could be met by a large proportion of females, and apply them to both sexes.

6. One relatively simple screening measure is percentage of body fat. The California Highway Patrol found that this was strongly correlated with subsequent scores on push-up and pull-up tests and on running tests. While tests with a larger sample would be desirable, this measure would apear to be a simple screening measure which is less discriminatory than some of the pre-enrollment physical tests currently in use.

7. A related suggestion has been that both men and women be taught to use personal skills which will enable them to talk their way out of dangerous situations without having to resort to force (Milton, 1978).

8. The evaluation report also suggested that a more difficult pre-employment physical agility test be implemented in order to reduce injury. It is not known if this recommendation has been implemented.

9. Martin has pointed out that police departments may find themselves in a dilemna since many of the men may resent the fact that women are singled out for special treatment. She goes on to say, that "to ignore the differences that affect performance, however, perpetuates the difficulties that many policewomen experience as patrol officers" (1980:131). While in the rest of this report we argue against differential treatment, this is one area in which we feel it is justified as long as the same standard is ultimately met by recruits of both sexes. Of course the extra training should also be available to males as well.

# CHAPTER 7

# OTHER ISSUES

## The Role of Senior Administrators

According to a number of observers, the support of the police chief is crucial if women are to be successful in patrol duties. Crites found that "the difference between departments in which the police chief supported the program and those where the chief did not has been the difference between success and failure" (1973:5). Such support by the chief is necessary to overcome the opposition of the male officers who oppose the program, and to provide encouragement to the women who will have to put up with the resentment of the males. While the chief cannot change attitudes by decree, he can make it clear that obvious discrimination will not be tolerated. Further, the morale of the women will be higher if they know they have the clear support of their senior officers.

The chief should establish a policy which sets out a single standard for the treatment of both male and female officers. A policy of this sort will help the police administration place the responsibility for the successful integration of women onto the shoulders of the field commanders, who are in daily contact with the patrol officers (Melchionne, 1974). Milton suggests that the commitment of the department to the successful integration of women can be made explicit in the context of a conference which would discuss the issue of female

patrol officers from a number of different perspectives. "The purpose of the conference should be to demonstrate the administration's commitment to hiring without regard to sex, to clarifying or changing policies which have discriminated against women, to reviewing problems of implementation and their solutions and to developing operational guidelines" (Milton, 1974:35).

The role of senior administrators should not end with the setting of policy. Experience in several departments has shown that administrators should also consult with members of the rank and file and keep them advised of the progress of the program. Kiernan and Cusick note that police union officials in Washington felt that Chief Wilson "moved too quickly with the program and failed to prepare the men and women for the changes that would follow. Male officers, unsure of how to treat the women, frequently lapsed into boyish behavior, teasing and harassing the women. If the men had been better prepared, the union officials said, the way would have been made smoother for the women." (1977:48). Bloch and Anderson have recommended that a committee, representing all levels of the department, monitor such programs in order to deal with problems such as those mentioned above.

Reassignment of Serving Women

One problem which has arisen as a result of the decision by many departments to assign women to patrol duties is the reluctance

of some women who have had a number of years experience in the department to go on uniformed patrol. Many of these women joined the police department as specialists and have spent their careers working in the Juvenile Division or as matrons in the jail. While some of the older women may welcome the change, others may view a transfer to a uniformed job as a reduction in status (Melchionne, 1974). Women performing specialist roles may have entered policing with higher educational qualifications than the average officer, and may view their current role as having more status than general policing. In addition, many of them may have entered the department because of a commitment to a certain kind of work such as working with juveniles and have no desire to enter the field of general policing.

It is not likely that most serving women will resist the change to a more complete integration of women into all aspects of policing. However, some of these women will not have had the same training as male officers and will not be prepared for patrol duties. These women should be trained (or retrained if they have had an academy course but have not had the opportunity to use most of the skills they learned) before they are put on patrol.

The problem of serving women who do not want to go on patrol is a difficult one for an administrator. In the interests of fairness, such women should be allowed to remain in their old positions if they choose to do so. Presumably, they would be aware that opportunities for advancement would be limited without patrol experience, but

it would not be fair to force them out on uniformed patrol if they don't have any enthusiasm for the job and if they were hired under a system which didn't require that they perform patrol duties.

## Women as Supervisors

In most departments, the number of women in supervisory positions is minimal (see Appendix I). In part, this is because many women have been hired recently and are not yet eligible for promotion. However, it is also due to the fact that women have been discriminated against in many departments. In some cases, a limited number of promotions were available within a separate Women's Bureau or within the Juvenile Division, but women were not allowed to compete for promotions outside of these specialized areas. One reason for this was that they typically lacked the patrol experience which has often been a prerequisite for promotion.

While the integration of women into police departments on a more equal basis means that more of them will be promoted to supervisory positions[1] in the future, there are at least three issues which must be considered in the area of promotion. First of all, research has suggested that women are not as oriented towards achieving higher rank as are men (Maguire, n.d.). It is likely that this difference in orientation is the result of the fact that for most women just getting into the police department represents a big step, and because she has no female supervisors to serve as role models. Unless they develop a

strong motivation to succeed, it is not likely that women will be promoted in proportion to their numbers. Further, once they have been promoted, the lack of available role models leaves the woman with no clear idea of how an effective female commander does her job. Hilton (1976) suggests that the subordinate role which women play in much of their interaction with men does not provide a good background for becoming a decisive police manager.

A second potential problem is that of the response of subordinates to a female supervisor. Surveys carried out in several types of organizations have found that both males and females express a preference for male supervisors (Bowman, et al. 1965). Female managers are felt to be "rigid, petty, controlling, and too prone to interfere in personal affairs of subordinates" (Kanter, 1976). However, research which has actually looked at the leadership performance of females has not supported these stereotypes. Leadership styles of men and women are similar and both sexes are evaluated in a similar fashion by their subordinates (Kanter, 1976). Price (1976) has compared male and female police administrators in terms of leadership characteristics. She found that female police executives scored higher than their male peers on 9 of 11 leadership traits. As Horne (1975) has suggested, it may well have been that only outstanding women were able to get promoted so that those studied by Price were a rather select group, but the fact remains that women officers have shown that they are able to perform their leadership role capably.

An additional problem relating to promotion was uncovered in a study done of women in the U.S. Navy. Durning and Mumford (1976) found that while women are initially more favorable in their attitudes toward the Navy than are their male counterparts, they become less content as they move up through the ranks. While male/female differences are not great, they show up particularly in the area of peer relationships. Navy enlisted women show a decline in feelings of peer support and peer work facilitation as they rise in rank, while males show an increase on these dimensions. This may because women perceive a conflict between their roles as females and as military supervisors, or it may reflect the fact that women in senior ranks are isolated both from their male peers and from other females. This suggests that the token promotion of a few females, who are then placed in positions where they are isolated from other women is not a particularly good way for organizations to proceed.

While there are potential difficulties, women who have been promoted appear to have been as effective as their male counterparts. If women are selected for promotion on the same basis as men[2], if they are promoted in sufficient numbers to enable them to provide models and support to one another, and if police departments insist that female supervisors receive the same authority and respect as their male peers, it is not likely that serious problems will result.

## Reactions of Spouses

One obstacle to the expansion of the role of women in policing which has not been mentioned thus far is the opposition of wives to having women work on patrol duties with their husbands.[3] The wives' objections center around two major issues: the possibility of sexual relationships developing between male and female officers, and the fear that having a woman partner will increase the likelihood of the male officer being killed or injured.

The first of these problems is the most difficult to deal with, as the fear of family problems amongst police officers is not unjustified. Police officers have a very high divorce rate (Milton, 1972) which is likely affected by the strains placed on a relationship by such things as shift work, the long hours, and the social isolation of officers and their families. The entry into the department of fairly large numbers of women who may be sharing a car eight hours a day with their husbands is seen by the wives as an additional threat to their marriage. While it is true that exclusion of women from the department will certainly not mean that male officers will be free from the perils of sexual temptation, it is also true that the likelihood of such temptation will be increased as more women enter the department.

Because of this possibility, many wives object to their husbands working with a female partner. In his study of women in the

RCMP, Maguire found that there was a great deal of concern over the prospect of a female constable arriving on the detachment. In one case, the fears of the wives are alleviated when the new constable turned out to be a "plain Jane" and was not perceived as a threat. Similarly, the wives became more accepting of female officers after they began to go out with single males on the detachment. Again, this meant that they were less of a threat.

While no solution can be found to this problem, some steps can be taken to reduce its impact. A number of departments have set up seminars for officers' spouses in order to familiarize them with police duties, and with the prospect of their police spouse working with a member of the opposite sex. Where formal programs do not exist, many men who are patrolling with women ensure that their wives meet their partner. It is likely that such familiarity will help to reduce some of the anxiety involved. Another suggestion has been for police departments to establish Counselling Services Units which could, among other things, provide assistance fo those having job-related marital difficulties (Milton, 1974).

Some departments have attempted to minimize the issue by allowing men the option of refusing to work with a female partner or by rotating partners on a regular basis. The first of these proposals can lead to problems for a man who does work with a female, since his wife knows that he could have refused. Also Crites (1973) found that departments which did not allow this choice had no more problems with spouses' reactions than those which did. An alternative proposal,

which is to rotate partners regularly, is probably not desirable from the point of view of effective policing since it does not allow partners the time to work together long enough to become an effective team. While more research might be desirable in this area, the best strategy might be to assign males and females to work together on a regular basis, but to be flexible in cases where family problems develop or where there is a strong preference for working with a partner of the same sex. Regardless of how the problem is handled, it should be remembered that female officers should not be held solely responsible for any liaisons which do develop, nor should the possibility of these additional administrative problems be used as grounds to keep women out of policing.

The second objection, that of the possibility of male officers being in more danger if they are working with females, is easier to deal with. A number of the research studies discussed in this report indicate that such fears appear to be groundless.[4] This data can be presented to male officers during in-service training courses and, if it is felt to be necessary, to the officers' wives as well. Along with this, Milton (1974) suggests that wives be allowed to ride along with experienced male-female or female-female teams in order to learn for themselves that women are competent officers.

## Attrition Rates and Sick Leave

In Chapter 2, it was noted that the California Highway Patrol reported higher attrition rates for female officers. This

pattern has apparently continued, as an article in the Los Angeles Times of January 22, 1979 reports that the rate of separation to that date was 15 percent for females compared with 5 percent for males. The same finding holds true for at least one Canadian police force. The RCMP reported that 16.3 percent of females employed after September, 1975 had left the Force by August, 1978 compared with 8.7 percent of the males. On the other hand, studies carried out in a number of city police departments have found attrition rates to be about the same for males and females. For instance, after almost 3 years of duty, none of the twelve female officers in the Newton Department had resigned. While research into attrition rates is currently underway in Canada and the U.S., the fact that none of the departments responding to the survey reported in Appendix 1 reported higher attrition rates for females as a problem suggests that higher rates of turnover for women may be more prevalent in State or Federal forces than in municipal departments. If subsequent research suggests that this is the case, the reason may be that postings, temporary duties in ther locations, etc. may be more disruptive to women than to their le counterparts.

Little research has been done in this area for women in other occupations and much of what does exist is misleading as it compares men and women in organizations where women are disproportionately employed in lower levels of the organization. Ambert (1976) cites one major U.S. survey which suggets that turnover rates are similar for men and women at the same job level. A recent study by

the Public Service Commission of Canada (1979) shows that in the Canadian Civil Service, resignation rates for women have been substantially higher than for men over the past four years. This holds true at levels categorized as support, junior, intermediate, and senior and applies to all occupational categories in the Civil Service. The only exception to this was at the very top level (classified as "executive") where the resignation rate for women was lower than that for men. The major reason given for the difference between men and women was relocation due to marriage or relocation of a spouse. Other reasons for resignation given by women more often than men were family responsibilities, personal health, and maternity.

The question of how to minimize this attrition rate is an important one for police administrators. The Public Service Commission report includes a number of recommendations in this regard. First of all, a policy for increasing the availability of part-time employment is currently being developed by Treasury Board and by the Public Service Commission. Part-time work would enable women who are involved in raising a family to stay actively involved with their work until they are ready to return to the labor force on a full-time basis. The report also recommends that policies be implemented which allow for extended leaves of absence and which facilitate reentry after such leaves. Both of these suggestions may help employers, including police departments, to minimize attrition problems involving female employees. It has been noted that labor force participation rates drop fairly sharply for women between the ages of 25 and 30, and

increase again for women over 30 (Miller, et al., 1979). Since a women in her early 30's would have more than 25 years of work ahead of her, it seems worthwhile to recognize that women may have family obligations which are different from those of men and to develop programs which make it possible for women to meet these obligations without permanently leaving their chosen career. Obviously such policies would also benefit the employer, since trained personnel would not be lost to the department.

Several of the evaluation studies also reported that women lost more time due to injuries and/or sick leave than did men. The California Highway Patrol study found that females had higher injury rates in training and had to take more sick leave. Following graduation, women continued to take more sick leave than the comparison males, though rates for both were below the average for all uniformed employees. Women also had higher injury rates than did males. In Newton, the average number of sick days for females and comparison males was almost identical, while females lost a substanially higher number of days due to injuries. The New York study done by Sichel et al. indicated that females took more sick time, while the Washington study found that women were assigned to light duty more often because of injuries, but did not have a higher rate of absenteeism. Women in other occupations also have higher rates of sick leave, but when level of position is similar the differences are quite small. For instance, a study carried out in the U.S. for a number of occupations found that women missed an average 5.6 days per year due to sickness, while men

missed an average of 5.3 days. This difference was even less when type of occupation was held constant (Ambert, 1976). Another study indicated that in the Canadian public service in 1967, women took 4.4 days of sick leave per year, and men 4.1 days (Women's Bureau; n.d.). The same study also looked at the question of maternity leave, which has been an area of concern for many police departments. It was found that fewer than 2 percent of women employed in the civil service took maternity leave in a year.

In their study of women in the military, Simpson et al. (1978) found that attrition rates were higher for females than for males, and that the difference was the greatest the further removed was the type of role from traditional female employment. Attrition rates were much more similar for trades in which women had served for a number of years. They also found that women made use of medical facilities more than did men, but were less likely to be disciplinary problems or to be involved in alcoholism and drug addiction.

The area of attrition and sick leave is an important one for police departments and for other employers, as it has implications in terms of the cost of training new personnel and providing replacements for workers who have left or who are off sick. The data suggest that attrition of females may be a problem in State or Federal forces but not in municipal departments. This may reflect the problems of moving or of being assigned to temporary duty away from home in forces which serve a broad area. Studies also indicate that females may be

absent more often due to illness or injury, but that their overall absentee rates are not significantly different from those of male officers. However, the evidence is neither complete not consistent, and further research must be done in this area.

## Uniforms for Female Officers

Uniforms must be designed so as to give female officers sufficient freedom of movement to do their job effectively and to allow them to carry the necessary equipment. Among the problem areas the have been mentioned are: not enough pockets to carry equipment; belt loops too small to carry equipment and firearms; the use of purses to carry firearms; and a uniform design which hampered movement.

A number of suggestions have been made to deal with some of these problems. First of all, uniforms should be designed for functional utility, not for style. Pants and low shoes are a necessity, as skirts and high-heeled shoes may restrict freedom of movement in a great number of situations. Also, provision should be made for carrying firearms in a holster rather than in a purse. This will enable the officer to draw the weapon more quickly and will minimize the risk of having it taken away from her before it can be drawn. A final recommendation is to provide adequate pockets on uniforms. If these are not provided, the female officer will either have to carry her equipment in her hands, or leave it behind in the car.

Women in the RCMP

Much of the material presented in this report is relevant to the RCMP, but the Force also has a number of additional problems regarding female officers which are rather unique. These additional problem areas are related to the fact that the RCMP is heavily involved in policing in rural parts of Canada and to the fact that it is a national organization which often transfers members from one area to another.[5]

The task of policing in isolated rural areas is quite different in many respects from urban policing (Sandy and Devine, 1978). For example, very often calls are answered by one officer while the nearest back-up may be miles away. Thus an officer must be capable of handling a wide variety of situations on his or her own. Also, being a police officer in a small town creates problems regarding off-duty socialization--the officer is well-known to all members of the community, and cannot ever escape the pressures of the police role. This problem may be particularly acute for females who may have no friends or working associates in remote areas. As noted earlier, this situation can create problems in terms of morale and retention of the female member in the Force.

An additional problem is that of the presence of women on patrols which may involve overnight stays in isolated cabins. Sending mixed teams of officers on such patrols would not likely be acceptable

to the members' families or to the public who, in a small town, would certainly be aware of such activities. If women were in a detachment where such patrols were necessary, excluding them from such duty would place an unfair burden on the men in the detachment. The current policy is not to transfer women to such detachments. However, this also has its disadvantages. Isolated detachments may be seen by some members as less desirable assignments than more populated areas. Thus excluding women from such postings would mean that there would be fewer vacancies available in more desirable areas. An analogous problem exists in the U.S. Navy which, until recently, had excluded females from sea duty. This led to resentment from the males because women were now filling a sizable proportion of the more desirable shore billets, thus increasing the likelihood of sea billets for men. The best solution to this problem for the RCMP would probably be to attempt to transfer at least two women to detachments with extensive overnight patrol commitments. This would allow them to do these patrols together, and would also help to alleviate some of the other problems which female officers face in rural areas.

The problem of transfers basically involves the possible reluctance of female officers to accept postings from cities or towns where their husbands have established careers. In such a case, either the woman officer would resign thus costing the Force an experienced member, or the normal transfer process would have to be altered if she were allowed to turn down the posting. A related problem is the fact that women in the RCMP are likely to marry men in the RCMP. In

Laronde's study, he found that 12 of 14 single females were dating members of the Force and 5 of 7 married females had husbands in the Force. This means that the married couples will have to be transferred in pairs and this might create career restrictions as one or both members nears promotion. As Laronde notes "discretion of placement may become removed from management control through the complexity of such arrangements" (n.d.:27). Looking at the same issue, Maguire feels that the problem of tandem careers in the RCMP is only part of a larger problem, since many wives who are not in the RCMP have careers which affect the likelihood of their husbands accepting a transfer. Maguire suggests that the situation may be simpler when both partners are on the Force, since in that case there is at least a possibility that both can be given jobs in the same location.

## FOOTNOTES

1. While women will inevitably be promoted to higher ranks, such promotions will likely be slow. Sullivan (1979) has shown that in the three years after widespread integration of British Police Departments occurred, there were 2,111 more female constables and 97 fewer female supervisors than there had been prior to integration. This was likely due to the loss of supervisory positions specifically designated for females. Horne (1979) has predicted that the attitudes of male administrators will prevent more than a few token females from moving into supervisory positions in the foreseeable future.

2. Just as police departments should avoid discriminating against women in their promotional policies, so should they avoid promoting women who do not have the experience or the leadership ability to do a good job. Promoting an inexperienced woman into a supervisory position on a token basis could greatly damage the credibility of female officers.

3. Very little attention has been paid to the reactions of husbands to their wives' work as police officers. While not enough data are provided to make any conclusions about such effects, the California Highway Patrol study suggests that the marriages of female officers may suffer more than those of male officers. Almost half of the female officers surveyed said that becoming a

member of the Highway Patrol led to a divorce. None of the comparison men reported that they had been divorced as a result of their job. However, the fact that all of these women said they felt good about this alteration of their marital status suggests that their marriages may not have been strong before they joined the department.

4. Despite this, every department has its collection of stories of how a female officer's mistake got her partner into trouble. If one listens long enough, one finds that the same kinds of stories are also told about inexperienced male police officers. The difference is that nobody uses the latter stories as illustrations of the incompetence of all males.

5. Another minor problem is related to training. Generally, the RCMP training experience seems to be typical. Laronde reports that the major fault found with the women was with the physical aspects of training, as they did very well in the academic part of the course. However, he reports that because physical capabilities are of minimal use in the field, the major problem identified during training was the lack of "troop spirit" of the female recruits. While this may not be a major concern to many municipal departments, the RCMP see it as a problem because of their concern with developing the members' esprit de corps.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY


Ambert, Anne-Marie.
1976 Sex Structure. Don Mills; Longman.

Barlow, Maude, Joyce Denyer, Helen LaFountain, and Penny Shore.
1977 "Women in Policing". RCMP Gazette 39:2-6.

Bartell Associates.
n.d. The Study of Police Women Competency in the Performance of Sector Police Work in the City of Philadelphia: Preliminary Draft. State College, PA.: Bartell Associates.

Bartlett, Harold W. and Arthur Rosenblum.
1977 Policewoman Effectiveness. Denver: Civil Service Commission.

Becke, S. C.
1973 "Law Enforcement: The Feminine Angle." International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology 17:196-201.

Bell, Daniel J.
1980 "Policewomen: myth or reality." Paper presented to the Annual Meetings of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, California.

Bernard, Jessie.
1973 "Adjusting the Lives of Women to the Establishment." pp. 121-137 in Clarice Stasz Stoll (ed.), Sexism: Scientific Debates. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

Berube, Diane.
1980 "La femme au sein de la Gendarmerie Royale du Canada." Unpublished paper.

Bloch, Peter and Deborah Anderson.
1974 Policewomen on Patrol: Final Report. Washington: The Police Foundation.

Bouza, Anthony V.
1975 "Women in Policing." FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin (September): 2-7.

Bowman, Garda, Beatrice Worthy, and Stephen Greyser.
1976 "Are Women Executives People?" Harvard Business Review Review 43 (July-August): 14-30.

Brown, Robert L.
1979 "The Revenge of the Empty Cradle." Quest 8 (October): 10-14.

Burnham, David.
1970 "Police Violence: A Changing Pattern." Pp. 174-179 in Arthur Niederhoffer and Abraham S. Blumberg (eds.), The Ambivalent Force. Waltham: Ginn and Company.

California Highway Patrol.
1976 Women Traffic Officer Project: Final Report. Sacramento: California Highway Patrol.

Carlson, Helena M. and Markley S. Sutton.
1975 "The Effects of Different Police Roles on Attitudes and Values." The Journal of Psychology 91:57-64.

Charles, Michael T.
1978 An Evaluation of Female Recruit Performance and Male/Female Recruit Perceptions of the Female Trooper's Role in the 90th Michigan State Police Training Academy. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University.

1981 "The performance and socialization of female recruits in the Michigan State Police Training Academy." Journal of Police Science and Administration (June): 209-223.

Charles, Michael T. and Kevin Parsons.
1978 "Female Performance in the Law Enforcement Function: A Review of Past Research, Current Issues and Future Potential." Law and Order 26 (January): 18-55, 74.

Conrad, Rex D. and John Glorioso.
1975 "Agency Adjustment Through a Group Approach." The Police Chief (April): 60-61.

Cookson, Clive.
1980 "Notes from Washington." C.A.U.T. Bulletin (February): 21.

Craig, Glen.
1977 "California Highway Patrol Women Officers." The Police Chief (January): 60-61, 78.

Crites, Laura.
1973 "Women in Law Enforcement." Management Information Service Report 5 (September).

Danson, Barney.
1979 "The Role of Women in the Canadian Forces." Speech to the YWCA and Provincial Council of Women of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, January 29.

Durning, Kathleen P. and Sandra J. Mumford.
1976 "Attitudes Toward the Navy of Enlisted Men and Women." Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Psychology in the Air Force Symposium, USAF Academy, Colorado Springs.

Guyot, Dorothy.
1977 "Police Departments Under Social Science Scrutiny." Journal of Criminal Justice 5 (Summer): 105-118.

Halliday, Carol-Ann
1975 "Many Minnies Later: Development of Women Police in British Columbia." Vancouver: Vancouver Police Department. Mineographed.

Hilton, Jennifer.
1976 "Women in the Police Service." The Police Journal 49 (April): 93-103.

Hogan, Robert and William Kurtines.
1975 "Personological Correlates of Police Effectiveness." The Journal of Psychology, 91:289-295.

Horne, Peter.
1975 Women in Law Enforcement. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.

1977 "Response to: Women in Policing: An Alternative View." The Police Chief (December): 56-57.

1979 "Policewomen: 2000 A.D." The Police Journal 52 (October): 344-357.

1980 Women in Law Enforcement, Second Edition. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.

Hylton, John.
1980 "Job Satisfaction Among Male and Female Constables in a Small Municipal Police Department." Unpublished Paper, University of Regina.

Hylton, John H., Rae Matanovich, James Varro, and Bijal Thakker.
1979 "Job Satisfaction in the Regina Police Department Regina: Regina Police Department.

Johns, Christina J. and Andrew M. Barclay.
1979 "Female Partners for Male Police: The Effect on Shooting Responses." Criminal Justice and Behavior 6 (December): 327-338.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss.
1976 "The Impact of Hierarchical Structures on the Work Behavior of Women and Men. Social Problems 23: 415-430.

1977 "Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women." American Journal of Sociology 82 (March): 965-990.

Kelly, William and Nora Kelly.
1976 Policing in Canada. Toronto: MacMillan.

Kerber, Kenneth W., Steven M. Andes, and Michele D. Mittler.
1977 "Citizen Attitudes Regarding the Competence of Female Police Officers." Journal of Police Science and Administration 5 (September): 337-347.

Kiernan, Michael and Judith Cusick.
1977 "Women on Patrol: The Nation's Capital Gives Them High Marks." Police Magazine. Prototype Issue: 45-53.

Kizziah, Carol and Mark Morris.
1977 Evaluation of Women in Policing Program. Newton, Massachusetts. Oakland: Approach Associates.

Kruckenberg, Joanna.
1974a "Women in Policing: Reflections of a Changing Community (Part 1)." Police Law Quarterly IV (Fall): 23-33.

1974b "Women in Policing: Reflections of a Changing Community (Part 2)." Police Law Quarterly IV (Winter): 27-31.

Laronde, L. P.
n.d. "Policewomen: Female Regular Members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police." Mimeo.

Lehtinen, Marlene W.
1976 "Sexism in Police Departments." Trial Magazine (September): 52-55.

Maguire, A. O.
n.d. "Laughing on the Outside - Crying on the Inside: A Renewed Examination of the Female Regular Members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police." Mimeo.

Martin, M. A.
1979 "Issues in Higher Education for Canadian Police." Canadian Police College Journal 3:214-236.

Martin, Susan.
1980 Breaking and Entering: Policewomen on Patrol. Berkeley: University of California Press.

McGeorge, Joann and Jerome A. Wolfe.
1976 "A Comparison of Attitudes Between Men and Women Police Officers: A Preliminary Analysis." Criminal Justice Review 1 (Fall): 21-33.

McGhee, Gary L.
1976 "Job-Related Pre-employment Physical Agility Tests." The Police Chief (January): 42-43.

Melchionne, Theresa M.
1974 "The Changing Role of Policewomen." The Police Journal (October): 340-358.

Miller, Joanne, Carmi Schooler, Melvin L. Kohn, and Karen Miller.
1979 "Women and Work: The Psychological Effects of Occupational Conditions." American Journal of Sociology 85 (July): 66-94.

Milton, Catherine.
1972 Women in Policing. Washington: Police Foundation.

1978 "The Future of Women in Policing." Pp. 184-204 in Alvin W. Cohn (ed.), The Future of Policing. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Ontario Provincial Police.
1978 Policewomen Program Report. Mimeographed.

Osborne, Gary D.
1976 "Validating Physical Agility Tests." The Police Chief (January): 43-45.

Owings, Chloe.
1969 Women Police. Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith Publishing Corp.

Patterson, Mary Jo.
1980 "Training tailored for women." Police Magazine (September): 23-29.

Perlstein, Gary R.
1972 "Policewomen and Policemen: A Comparative Look." The Police Chief (March): 72-72, 83.

Price, Barbara R.
1974 "A Study of Leadership Strength of Female Police Executives." Journal of Police Science and Administration 2: 219-226.

Primeau, Liz.
1975 "They Always Get Their Person." Weekend Magazine 25 (March).

Prindiville, Joanne.
1975 Women in Policing in British Columbia. Vancouver: B.C. Police Commission.

Public Service Commission.
1979 A Study of the Separation of Women from the Public Service of Canada 1976-1979. Ottawa: Public Service Commission of Canada.

Purcell, William.
1974 British Police in a Changing Society. London: Newbray's.

Reid, Sue Titus.
1979 Crime and Criminology. Second Edition. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Roberts, Cst. Patricia.
1977 "The Policewoman - A Personal View." RCMP Gazette 39:7-12.

Sandy, Joan Phillips and Donald A. Devine.
1978 "Four Stress Factors Unique to Rural Patrol." The Police Chief (September); 42-44.

Seater, Barbara B. and Cecilia L. Ridgeway.
1976 "Role Models, Significant Others, and the Importance of Male Influence on College Women." Sociological Symposium 15 (Spring): 49-61.

Sherman, Lewis J.
1973 "A Psychological View of Women in Policing." Journal of Police Science and Administration 1: 383-394.

1975 "An Evaluation of Policewomen on Patrol in a Suburban Police Department." Journal of Police Science and Administration 3: 434-438.

Sichel, Joyce L., Lucy N. Friedman, Janet C. Quint, and Michael E. Smith.
1978 Women on Patrol: A Pilot Study of Police Performance in New York City. Washington: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

Simpson, Suzanne, Doris Toole, and Cindy Player.
1978 "Women in the Canadian Forces; Past, Present and Future." Paper Presented at the Second Annual Meeting of the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women.

Southgate, Peter.
1979 Personnal Correspondence.

Stobart, R. M.
1972 "Serious Assaults on Police." The Police Journal (April): 108-126.

Stratton, John.
1975 "Rape and the Victim: A New Role for Law Enforcement." FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin (November): 3-6.

Suelzle, Marijean.
1973 "Women in Labor." Pp. 87-106 in Clarice Stasz Stoll (ed.), Sexism: Scientific Debates. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Welsey.

Sullivan, P. K.
1979 The Role of Women in the Police Service - The Effects of the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 - A Comparison of Respective Positions." The Police Journal 52 (October): 336-343.

Sutton, Markley S. and Helena M. Carlson.
1977 "Attitude and Personality Differences Among Men and Women Studying Police Science." The Journal of Social Psychology 102: 161-162.

Swanson, Cheryl and Charles D. Hale.
1975 "A Question of Height Revisited: Assaults on Police." Journal of Police Science and Administration 3: 183-188.

Tenzel, James H., Lowell Storms and Hervey Sweetwood.
1976 "Symbols and Behavior: An Experiment in Altering the Police role." Journal of Police Science and Administration 4: 21-27.

Time.
1980 "Women Cops on the Beat." March 10: 46.

Toole, Maj. D. E.
1975 "A View from the Sidelines." RCMP Quarterly 40 (April): 8-11.

Tuddenham, Read, Philip MacBride and Victor Zahn.
1958 "The Influence of the Sex Composition of the Group Upon Yielding to a Distorted Norm." The Journal of Psychology 46: 243-251.

Turner, Tom S. and Sgt. Ken Higgins.
1977 Initial Selection Assessment Centre Program: Police Constable Job Analysis Report. Vancouver: British Columbia Police Commission.

Vastola, Anthony.
1977 "Women in Policing: An Alternative Ideology." The Police chief (January): 62-69.

Webber, Barbara.
1976 "The Police Wife." The Police Chief (January): 48-49.

Weldy, William O.
1976 "Women in Policing: A Positive Step Toward Increased Police Enthusiasm." The Police Chief (January): 46-47.

Whetstone, Bill.
1978 "Women in Policing." Edmonton: Department of the Alberta Solicitor General.

Wilson, James Q.
1970 "The Police and their Problems: A Theory." Pp. 293-307 in Arthur Niederhoffer and Abraham Blumberg (eds.), The Ambivalent Force: Perspectives on the Police. Waltham, Mass: Ginn and Company.

Woman's Bureau.
n.d. Women in the Labour Force. Winnipeg: Department of Labour.

# APPENDIX I

## WOMEN IN CANADIAN POLICE DEPARTMENTS

As part of this review, a brief questionnaire was sent to all twenty-two police departments in Canada which served cities and districts having over 100,000 population (excluding areas served by the RCMP). In addition, site visits were made to Toronto, Edmonton, and Vancouver. Responses were obtained from all but three departments (Longeuil, Halton Regional and Saskatoon). A brief summary of responses to each of the items on the questionnaire is presented below.

1. General orders, memoranda, policies and directives referring to female police officers.

   Departments reported few differences in policies toward male and female officers. Most of the differences in regulations related to dress, hair length and maternity leave. The only major restrictions reported for females was in Vancouver where women were not assigned to work in the jail.[1]

2. Physical requirements including height, weight and vision.

   There was a good deal of variation reported regarding physical selection standards for potential recruits. The most common height minima were 5'4" for women and 5'8" for males. Six of the twenty-four responding departments had no height or weight

restrictions for applicants, and only one (Halifax) reported having the same height requirement (5'8") for both males and females.

3. Pre-employment testing requirements including physical examination, and physical agility and strength testing.

There was also a wide range of variation reported in the extent of physical ability testing. About half of the reporting departments required only a medical examination to certify the physical condition of an applicant. The other half required some kind of fitness test, administered either by the department or by an outside agency such as a University or the YMCA. These tests varied considerably, with that of the Vancouver City Police being among the most demanding. The Vancouver department requires a driver's examination, a swimming examination requiring competence in a number of strokes, physical fitness evaluation tests, motor fitness and ability tests, and a job-related skill evaluation. This last test consists of a speed run (45.75 metres in 7.5 seconds), trigger pull, wall scale (1.82 metres), body drag (200 pounds over 30 metres), and a stretcher carry (200 pounds carried by two persons).

4. Former and present designated functions of female police officers.

The historical pattern reported in Chapter 1 has been followed by every department which has employed female officers over a

period of years. That is, until recently women were restricted to traditional roles such as working in the women's jail, dealing with juveniles, and handling female victims. Most departments had only a small number of women and many employed no women at all. Most recently, all responding departments which employ women have assigned women to general patrol duties and to other units on the same basis as men. About 2/3 of female officers are currently assigned to general patrol.

5. Number of female officers on the force ten years ago, five years ago, and now.

While not all departments were able to provide this information, the number of female officers increased by about 30 percent between 1969 and 1974 and by about 110 percent between 1974 and 1979. If one includes the RCMP which had no females until 1975 and which now employs about 240, the increase between 1974 and 1979 was 270 percent. Thus the trend indicates a significant increase in the number of female officers. This trend is even apparent in Quebec, where the number of women has been very limited. Montreal recently began hiring women again for the first time in 32 years, and other departments with no women on strength are now considering hiring some.

6. Number of females having the rank of sergeant and above.

Very few women have been promoted to senior ranks in Canadian police departments. This reflects the limited experience of

the majority of female officers who, as noted above, have been hired in the past five years. It also reflects the fact that advancement was limited for those women who did have a long period of police service. Among all of the reporting departments, only 17 women were at or above the rank of sergeant. Of these, 10, including the only female officer (a superintendent), are members of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Department. Of the remainder, 3 are members of the Peel Regional Police, so it is apparent that most departments have not yet promoted any women.

7. What problems, if any, has your department encountered regarding female officers?

Nineteen of the responding departments replied to this question. Three had not had enough experience with female officers to be able to assess their impact on the department, and another five stated that they had not encountered any problems regarding female officers. The major areas of concern discussed by the remainder of the departments related to the perceived physical ability of the females. Four departments reported that the men feel they must be more protective when they are working with women. Two departments had problems with supervisors who send more backup for females and were more reluctant to assign them to dangerous patrol areas. Five departments also reported that women were not aggressive or strong enough to deal with situations involving potentially violent behavior, and that male officers don't have any confidence in the ability of females to

help them in a situation involving a fight. Other problem areas mentioned by one or two departments were: the women aren't accepted by male officers; women don't like working on patrol duties; loss of time due to maternity and sick leave; and the possibility of domestic problems resulting from the presence of women in a previously all-male environment. A number of departments also mentioned that women were particularly good at tasks such as dealing with female victims, report-writing, and dealing with conflict situations. Several also noted that their female officers were hard-working, had good attendance, had no record of disciplinary problems, and had received no civilian complaints.

## FOOTNOTES

1. It is unlikely that this department is the only one which has formal or informal restrictions regarding the hiring or deployment of women. However, the wording of the questionnaire may not have obtained the same sort of information as that gathered in the course of a site visit. For example, a newspaper story dealing with females on one of the responding forces noted that women were not assigned to the paddy wagon. The Deputy Chief said this policy had been implemented because two small women couldn't lift a large drunk into the wagon. Interestingly, in Vancouver the wagon is often handled by a single female officer without any apparent deterioration in the quality of service offered to local inebriates.

# APPENDIX II

## IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

The major implication of this report for future research is that it points out the need for a study of women in policing to be carried out in Canada. Virtually all of the research discussed in this report has been carried out in the United States. While these findings may be generalizable to Canadian departments, there is some resistance among both police administrators and academics to accepting these findings without independent replication in Canada. Such a replication is necessary in order to provide credible information to police administrators who must use research results as a basis for policy decisions. Further, there are some differences between Canadian and American police departments which require that research be conducted in Canada to supplement that done in other countries. As just one example, the RCMP is in some respects a unique police force, particularly with respect to the extent of policing carried out in rural and isolated areas. Many issues related to the deployment of women in the RCMP are not faced by city or even by state police forces in the U.S.

The report has identified a number of issues which should be studied in Canadian research on women in policing. Among these issues are the following:

1. What are the effects of differential physical ability on job performance? Are differences in physical abilities job-related? Are any problems caused by physical differences? If so, does this vary in different areas (i.e., urban vs. remote rural) or by different types of job assignment?

2. Do sex differences exist in style of policing? Do men and women do their jobs differently? Does this vary under certain conditions; i.e., when two women are partners? If such differences exist, do they make a difference in effectiveness?

3. What kinds of administrative problems result from the employment of female officers? Must transfers be restricted when two members of a department are married? Are there any difficulties relating to different requirements for uniforms, facilities, and equipment?

4. What are the effects of having men and women working together? What are the perceived effects on husbands and wives? Do male/female relationships have any effect on job performance?

5. Do male/female differences exist in job satisfaction and desired career patterns? Do sex differences exist in central life interest? Are males and females equally committed to their careers? Were males and females attracted to policing for similar reasons? What are the implications of these findings for administrators?

6. What issues are raised by the presence of women in a previously male occupation? Do members perceive any change in the image of their force as a result of the hiring of women? Is there a problem raised by a lack of friends and working associates for female members of the RCMP working in remote areas? Is there resentment of females by male members which has an impact on morale or efficiency? Is current training adequate for females?

7. What are some of the problems faced by the RCMP in assigning women to remote areas? Is the lack of possible back-up perceived to be a problem?

8. Assuming that the number of female officers will continue to increase, what policies can be used to facilitate the acceptance of these officers? Can programs be developed which can be used in both recruit and in-service training programs to deal with the issues raised by the employment of female officers?

9. Why is the attrition rate for females higher in state and federal police forces than in municipal forces? Can policies be introduced which might reduce this attrition rate? Can police career patterns be made more flexible to better meet the needs of female officers?

10. What would be the effect of substantially increasing the number of female officers assigned to a particular area? The military has done some research on the effect of increasing the proportion of females in field units - the same kind of research should be done with the police.

For reasons mentioned in the report, the role played by women in Canadian police departments is likely to increase significantly during the 1980's. Research in this area is needed to provide information on how to minimize the problems which might become magnified as a result of this increase. For instance, ways must be found of reducing the hostility of male officers toward their female colleagues, or the morale of both males and females will suffer. More flexible career paths must be developed in order to minimize attrition rates among females, or recruiting and training costs will rise in some departments. These are but two examples of areas where policy-related research may be of assistance to police administrators.